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THE FOUNDING OF KNOXVILLE

By STANLEY J. FOLMSBEE and LUCILE DEADERICK

This year, 1941, is the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Knoxville, Tennessee, for on October 3, 1791 the town was officially established. At the time of this writing plans are being made for an elaborate sesquicentennial celebration of that event. The actual beginning of settlement, however, occurred several years before 1791. About a block behind the spot where the S & W Cafeteria now stands, James White in 1786 built a cabin and later a fort; and that was the germ of the city of Knoxville.[1]

In 1786 the site chosen by James White for his home was still claimed by the Cherokee Indians as a part of the immense domain they had possessed for more than a century; and prior to the Cherokee occupation the region had been held by various pre-historic tribes. Who was the first white man to penetrate this Indian country to the site of Knoxville is unknown. Some time after the DeSoto Expedition had crossed the southeastern corner of present day Tennessee in 1540 en route to the Mississippi River, the Spanish in Florida began to engage in trade with some of the pre-Cherokee Indian inhabitants of the East Tennessee region, but it is doubtful that any of these traders came as far north as Knoxville. In 1673 the first two Englishmen known to have trod the soil of Tennessee, James Needham and Gabriel Arthur, emissaries of Abraham Wood, a Virginia trader residing at the site of present day Petersburg, visited a tribe of Indians called the Tomahitans. Arthur remained with the Indians for nearly a year and it is quite probable that he passed the site of Knoxville while accompanying the red men on their war and hunting expeditions.[2] Near the close of the century a renegade French trader, Jean Couture, used the Tennessee River as a "road to Carolina" and led some Carolina

[1] J. G. M. Ramsey, *Annals of Tennessee* (Charleston, 1853), 374.

[2] C. W. Alvord and Lee Bidgood, *The First Explorations of the Trans-Allegheny by the Virginians* (Cleveland, 1912), 207-26. According to S. C. Williams, in his *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1928), 17-23, these Tomahitans were probably the Cherokees residing along the Little Tennessee River, but archaeologists are of the opinion that they were Yuchi Indians of indefinite location. T. M. N. Lewis and M. Kneberg, The Prehistory of the Chickamauga Basin (Unpublished).

356851

traders back to the Mississippi along the same route. If he used for the passage across the mountains the river which bears the name of his nationality, the French Broad, he naturally passed the site of the city which is situated a few miles below the mouth of this tributary of the Tennessee.[3]

The first white man, so far as definite records are concerned, known to have seen the site of Knoxville was Stephen Holston, after whom the Holston River is named. This pioneer settler of southwestern Virginia made a journey of exploration down the Holston, Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers all the way to Natchez about 1748.[4] By that time the Cherokee country had become the scene of rivalry between the English and the French in their struggle to control the eastern part of the Mississippi Valley. In an effort to retain the friendship of the Cherokees, the English in 1756-1757 built two forts on the banks of the Little Tennessee River near the mouth of the Tellico, about thirty miles from Knoxville. The first, which was never garrisoned, was built by a party of men from the colony of Virginia under the command of Major Andrew Lewis. The more important, Fort Loudoun, constructed and garrisoned by an expedition from South Carolina under the command of Captain Raymond Demere, was during the period of its existence the most western English fort in America. Its name has been perpetuated in the Fort Loudoun Dam being built by the Tennessee Valley Authority across the Tennessee River near the mouth of the Little Tennessee, which will create an artificial lake of the same name extending to the limits of the city of Knoxville. In 1761, soon after the close of the war between the English and the Cherokees during which Fort Loudoun was surrendered and many of its garrison massacred, a British army officer, Lieutenant Henry Timberlake, left Fort Patrick Henry on the Long Island of the Holston on a canoe trip down the river. He passed the site of Knoxville and, after reaching the mouth of the Little Tennessee River, he continued up that stream to the Cherokee towns and the remains of the historic fort.[5]

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[3]Vernon Crane, "The Tennessee River as a Road to Carolina," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, III (June, 1916), 3-18. It is more likely that he ascended a lower branch of the Tennessee and crossed overland to the Savannah River.

[4]S. C. Williams, "Stephen Holston and Holston River," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (Knoxville, 1936), 28.

[5]P. M. Hamer, *Tennessee: A History* (New York, 1933), 31-57; S. C. Williams (ed.), *Memoirs of Lieut. Henry Timberlake* (Johnson City, 1927).

With the coming of peace with the French in 1763 and the beginnings of permanent settlement in upper East Tennessee a few years later the vicinity of Knoxville became increasingly familiar to the western pioneers. Many emigrants to the recently acquired English colony of West Florida guided their flatboats past the site of this city on their way to their new homes in the vicinity of Natchez. The Watauga settlers in their contacts with their Indian neighbors also made frequent use of the Holston and Tennessee river route. Two of the largest and most noted expeditions past the site of Knoxville were the Chickamauga Expedition of 1779 led by Colonel Evan Shelby against the Indian towns near present day Chattanooga, and the voyage of one group of the settlers of Nashville led by John Donelson early the next year.[6]

In this rapid development of interest in the Trans-Allegheny region the strategic site of Knoxville was not overlooked. A serious handicap to white settlement existed, however, in the unextinguished Indian title to this part of the country. The state of North Carolina, of which the Tennessee region was then a part, attempted to remove this obstacle by the "land-grab act" of 1783. Claiming that the Cherokee Indians had forfeited their title to land by their alliance with the British in the Revolutionary War, she reserved for this tribe only that part of present day Tennessee lying south of the French Broad and Big Pigeon rivers and east of the Tennessee. The remainder of her western claim she threw open to land purchasers on very easy terms—ten pounds in depreciated paper, the equivalent of about five dollars in specie, per hundred acres. This act provided a great incentive to men interested in acquiring western land cheaply. They could go into the western country, make a rough survey, enter that survey in the entry-taker's office, and then have a surveyor lay off the land.[7] Shortly after the passage of this act the part of the Tennessee country lying outside the area reserved for the Indians swarmed with men eager to profit from the opening of so much desirable land. Among these were James White, Robert Love, Francis Ramsey, and James Connor. These explorers traveled down the French Broad River and the Tennessee probably as far as the mouth of the Little Tennessee, looking for the most inviting spot in

[6]Ramsey, *op. cit.*, 187, 197-203.

[7]T. P. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill 1932), 50.

which to stake out their claims. They returned from their trip west to their homes in Iredell county, North Carolina, packed up their belongings, and with their families moved west. White's family stopped at first about four miles above the junction of the French Broad and the Holston. In the next year, 1786, they moved on down the river, built a cabin, and planted a turnip patch on land which later became the cemetery of the First Presbyterian Church.[8] Soon thereafter they also built a fort as protection from the Indians, for their land was located just across the river from the territory reserved to the Cherokees by the state of North Carolina. Although James White was a captain in the North Carolina army and thereby entitled to military warrants for his service, it appears certain that he acquired his title to the land at the site of Knoxville by purchase under the provisions of the act of 1783.[9]

At the time of settlement, however, the action of North Carolina in declaring null and void the Indian title to the land on which James White built his cabin and his fort had been ignored in the Treaty of Hopewell negotiated in 1785 between the United States government and the Cherokee Indians. This treaty recognized the Cherokee claim to all of the present East Tennessee south and west of the treaty line of 1777, which ran just to the east of the town of Greeneville. Meanwhile, in 1784, North Carolina had ceded her western lands to the United States, an event which was the immediate occasion for the establishment by the Wataugans of the state of Franklin, with John Sevier as governor. Although North Carolina repealed this cession act before the United States Congress had time to accept the cession, the new state continued to function as a separate unit, in spite of the opposition of the mother state and of

[8]J. G. M. Ramsey, *History of Lebanon Presbyterian Church* (Knoxville, 1918), 8. This pamphlet purports to be a letter written by Ramsey to the members of this church in 1875. See also Ramsey, *Annals*, 374.

[9]It is stated by many writers on the history of Knoxville (see particularly William Rule, *Standard History of Knoxville* [Chicago, 1900], 37) that James White obtained title to the land on which this city is situated as a result of service in the Revolutionary War. According to North Carolina law, military warrants at that time could be located only within the Military Reservation, a carefully defined section of Middle Tennessee. Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 50. Moreover, the originals of the James White grants found in the Knox County Deed Records (Knox County Courthouse, Knoxville) mention specifically a "consideration" of ten pounds per hundred acres. It may be assumed, therefore, that James White paid the North Carolina entry-taker the usual price for his land at the site of Knoxville, and located his military warrants elsewhere.

many future Tennesseans, notable among whom was John Tipton.[10]

James White served as speaker of the Franklin Senate, and remained a consistent supporter of the separate state movement. This was probably due in part to the Indian policy adopted by the new state. Shortly before the Treaty of Hopewell John Sevier waged war against the Cherokee Indians and forced their leading chiefs to sign the Treaty of Dumplin Creek, which, the state of Franklin claimed, ceded all the land north of a line running from the mouth of the Little Tennessee River along the ridge between that stream and the Little River to the Blue Ridge.[11] This would include not only the site of White's Fort but also the land lying across the Tennessee. Although it could not be expected, after the Hopewell Treaty, that either North Carolina or the United States would recognize the validity of this action of the state of Franklin, many families soon joined the Whites in the fertile valley. Clearings that later were to become farms began to push back the forest at Adair's Fort, on the road to Fountain City at Smithwood, and at Campbell's Station, near the present Farragut High School. James White also built a tub mill, the beginning of Knoxville industry, near his fort.[12]

The strip of land between First and Second creeks selected by White for his home was a natural spot for settlement. Spring water ran fresh and clear and plentiful. The landscape was placidly beautiful. It sloped gently down to the broad river, which afforded protection as well as an artery for traffic to and from the civilized settlements to the northeast. Even though it was in the Indian country, White determined on this spot as the site for his fort and cabin. Here was a hill that would be hard to attack without warning. Here was the site for a town where commerce would thrive. Lying between the settlements at Watauga and Nashville, it would be a convenient place for travelers to break their journey.

The Franklin movement gradually died out, and in 1789 Sevier made peace with the mother state. The next year North

[10]S. C. Williams, *The History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), *passim*.

[11]*Ibid.*, 75, 87, 294-96; R. C. Downes, "Cherokee-American Relations in the Upper Tennessee Valley, 1776-1791," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 8 (1936), 35-53.

[12]Ramsey, *Annals*, 375.

Carolina turned over to Congress the district which is now Tennessee, and it was promptly organized as the "Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio," with a government similar to that of its counterpart, the Northwest Territory.[13]

The new governor appointed to rule this territory was William Blount, a gentleman little used to the ways of the frontier, but as later events proved keenly interested in the western lands. He had probably met Washington when he represented North Carolina in the federal constitutional convention, and when Blount was recommended by North Carolinians Washington may have remembered the young man he had seen at Philadelphia. The appointment of Blount as governor of the Southwest Territory was fortunate for the growth of Knoxville. As the capital of the territory he picked White's Fort, then a village of five families. He changed the name to Knoxville, in honor of Washington's secretary of war, General Henry Knox.[14] White became a major in the Hawkins county militia, in charge of the infant town's military force. With these, he was responsible for defending Knoxville from the threats of hostile Creeks and Cherokees. In 1792, when Knox county was created, he was promoted to lieutenant colonel commandant of the militia of the new county.[15]

Daniel Smith, of Sumner county, became secretary of the territory, and John McNairy, David Campbell, and Joseph Anderson became judges. There was no legislature for the first few years, and Blount assumed legislative as well as executive powers. The governor, the secretary, and the three judges ran the territorial government. Blount was also appointed superintendent of Indian affairs for the whole Southwest.[16]

On August 7, 1790, Blount received his appointment from President Washington. By October he had reached William Cobb's house in the fork of the Holston and Watauga rivers, not far from Watauga Old Fields, near present day Johnson City. This was a palatial nine-room frontier mansion, where Blount and his wife stayed until their Knoxville house, the Blount Mansion, was finished in 1792. The Cobb house was

[13]S. C. Williams, *Phases of Southwest Territory History* (Johnson City, 1940), 4.
[14]*Ibid.*, 4.
[15]C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Territory South of the River Ohio*, 1790-1796 (Washington, 1936), 437, 449.
[16]*Ibid.*, 24-26, 40.

therefore the first seat of the territorial government, for Blount carried on his governmental duties there.[17]

For many years after Knoxville was settled the main hardships suffered by the pioneers were the depredations of the Indians and the ever-recurring fears for the safety of the settlers. The state of Franklin had made treaties with the Indians, but these treaties were not considered to be valid, since the state was not recognized by North Carolina or the United States. Following the collapse of the Franklin movement the Indians naturally insisted that the only legal boundary was the line provided for in the Treaty of Hopewell of 1785, and they were supported in this contention by the United States government. Nevertheless, not only did the settlers already located on Indian land, at White's Fort and elsewhere, refuse to move, but others soon joined them. Such encroachments on the Indians' lands caused continuous attacks and reprisals. Since William Blount had been sent into the territory as both governor and superintendent of Southern Indian affairs, one of his major duties was to try to preserve peace with the Indians. Accordingly, not long after he arrived in the Southwest Territory to take up his new duties he called the Cherokee chiefs together to discuss the situation. They met at the site of Knoxville, at the mouth of the present First Creek, and amid great ceremony the business of the occasion was conducted. The representation from the Indian country was large; there were forty-one Indians in the official delegation, and about twelve hundred Indians were scattered over the grounds nearby.[18] The treaty made there, called the Treaty of Holston, was the most important accomplishment of Blount's term of office thus far, and its consummation on July 2, 1791, he undoubtedly felt was an advance in his efforts to reach a peaceful settlement with the Indians. The treaty granted the whites more land, comprising approximately the territory covered by the counties of Sevier, Cocke, Jefferson, Hamblen, Grainger, and almost all of Knox and parts of Roane, Loudon, Anderson, Union, Hancock, Hawkins, Sullivan, Washington, Greene, and Blount in Tennessee, together with a part of North Carolina lying west of the French Broad

[17]John Haywood, *Civil and Political History of the State of Tennessee* (reprinted, Nashville, 1891), 262. It still stands one hundred yards off highway 11-E about five miles from Johnson City.

[18]Ramsey, *op. cit.*, 555; C. C. Royce, "The Cherokee Nation of Indians," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology . . .*, 1883-1884 (Washington, 1887), 162.

River. The treaty also gave the whites the right to use the Tennessee River, the right to make a road to the Cumberland settlements, and a few other concessions, in return for which the Indians were to receive one thousand dollars a year, which was later raised to five thousand by General Henry Knox.[19]

White's Fort was established as a town with the name of Knoxville in 1791. The land on which the town was laid off belonged to James White, and he had Colonel Charles McClung survey[20] sixty-four lots of one-half acre each to be sold at a drawing. This lottery was held on October 3, 1791, and the following account of it and of the conditions for the rule and regulation of the town was published in the Knoxville paper:

KNOXVILLE, October 3, 1791

ARTICLES of AGREEMENT made and concluded on this third day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, by and between JAMES WHITE, esquire, proprietor of the land laid off for the town of Knoxville, of the one part, and JOHN ADAIR, PAUL CUNNINGHAM, and GEORGE McNUTT commissioners appointed in behalf of the purchasers of the lots in the town of Knoxville, of the other part, all of Hawkins county and Territory of the United States of America south of the river Ohio, WITNESSETH, that the said JAMES WHITE do bargain and sell to the subscribers for lots in the said town, sixty-four lots, each lot containing one half acre square, reserving eight lots which are not to be loted for. The said town to be loted for and drawn in a fair lottery, by the said commissioners in behalf of the subscribers, on the third day of October aforesaid; and further, the said JAMES WHITE doth hereby bind himself, his heirs, executors, administrators, and assigns, to make, or cause to be made, a good and sufficient title, in fee simple, for each lot, to the person drawing the same, as soon as payment is made, agreeable to the terms of sale of the said lots. And we the commissioners aforesaid, do covenant and agree in behalf of the said purchasers, to superintend the drawing of the tickets for the said lots and that we will do equal justice between the parties, without favour or affection to any, whether present or

[19] *Ibid.*, 168-71. The text of the treaty is also printed in Carter, *op cit.*, 61. Shortly after the treaty was completed, Governor Blount wrote his friend, John Steele: "I have determined to make the Place where the Treaty was held the place of my future Residence and shall honor it with the Name of Knox-ville . . . ." H. M. Wagstaff (ed.), *The John Steele Papers* (Raleigh, 1924), I, 80.

[20] There exists some difference of opinion as to the date of this survey. The agreement printed below shows definitely that the town was "laid off" before the lottery of October 3, 1701; but Judge John Haywood, in his *Civil and Political History of Tennessee*, published in 1823 (reprinted, Nashville, 1891), stated (page 272) that the town was not laid off until February, 1792. In 1842 a Hugh Dunlap, claiming to be the only man still alive who was "living there when the lots were laid off," wrote that Charles McClung surveyed the lots some time in February, 1792. Rule, *op. cit.*, 47. A possible explanation may be that the town was "laid off" into sixty-four lots by October 3, 1791, but that the boundary lines of these lots were more accurately surveyed in February, 1792.

absent: And the said JAMES WHITE doth agree that all the lands lying between the said town and the river, one pole in breadth along the river bank excepted, and all the land between the town and the creek, as far up as the south-east corner of Broad-street, with a street of thirty-three feet wide round the remainder of the town, shall be for commons for the said town. And further that the lots for which payment hath not been made agreeable to the articles of the sale of the said lots, shall be for the use of the said JAMES WHITE, he, when selling them, binding the purchasers to abide by the rules and regulations which shall be made by the aforesaid commissioners. And the said commissioners shall have power to act and regulate all matters respecting the said town, until an act of assembly shall be made for the rules and regulations thereof. And further, it is agreed that any person refusing to comply with the rules for building and other necessary expence, shall pay to the said commissioners a sum not exceeding Five Dollars for every such refusal made. The fines to be collected and applied to the use and benefit of said town.

In witness whereof, we have hereunto set our hands this third day of October, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one.

JAMES WHITE.
JOHN ADAIR.
PAUL CUNNINGHAM.
GEORGE McNUTT.

Teste,
CHARLES McCLUNG.
JAMES COZBY.

James White, ... 1
James W. Lackey, ... 2
His Excellency Wm. Blount, .. 3
James Armstrong, ... 4
William Davidson, ... 5
Andrew & J. Belfour, ... 6
John Hays, ... 7
Thomas Amis, ... 8
Jacob Brown, ... 9
James Knox, ... 10
James Richardson, ... 11
William Boyd, ... 12
Thomas Amis, ... 13
Joseph Hodge, ... 14
Hon. Judge Anderson, ... 15
John Gehon, ... 16
Ignatius and J. Chisholm, ... 17
John Carter, ... 18
James Cozby, ... 19
Thomas King, ... 20
Rev. Mr. Carrick, ... 21
Jacob Carper, ... 22
John Love, ... 23
John Owens, ... 24
James Greenway, ... 25
Jacob Carper, ... 26
George Roulstone, ... 27
Reserved Lot, ... 28
Ditto ditto, ... 29
Andrew & J. Belfour, ... 30
John Rhea, ... 31
Mathew A. Atkinson, ... 32
Rev. Mr. Carrick, ... 33
John Stone, ... 34
Hon. Judge Campbell, ... 35
Reserved Lot, ... 36
Ditto ditto, ... 37
Samuel Hanah, ... 38
Jacob Carper, ... 39
George Roulstone, ... 40
Andrew Green, ... 41
John Adair, ... 42
William Lowry, ... 43
Nathaniel Cowen, ... 44
Samuel M'Gaughey, ... 45
William Henry, ... 46
William Cox, ... 47
John Chisholm, ... 48

John King, senior,	49	Adam Peck,	57
Lewis Newhouse,	50	David Allison,	58
Peter M'Namee,	51	James & W. Lea	59
Nicholas Perkins,	52	John Troy,	60
Daniel Hamblin,	53	William Small,	61
John Hackett,	54	Hugh Fulton,	62
Jacob Carper,	55	James Millar,	63
Robert Legitt,	56	Thomas Smith,	64

We the commissioners do certify, that the above names are set opposite to the numbers, agreeable to the lottery, as they were drawn.

JOHN ADAIR.
PAUL CUNNINGHAM.
GEORGE McNUTT.

N. B. Those persons who subscribe for lots are desired to pay the purchase money immediately, otherwise their subscription will be deemed void, and lots disposed of for the benefit of the proprietor.[21]

When Blount decided that Knoxville should be the capital of the Territory, he probably thought that the people living there should know about what was happening in the great world outside. At any rate, shortly after Blount came to Tennessee, the publisher of a paper in Fayetteville, North Carolina, George Roulstone, moved his press to Rogersville and began the publication of the *Knoxville Gazette* on November 5, 1791. Eleven months later, on October 6, 1792, Roulstone published his first paper from Knoxville.[22] Roulstone was also the town's first postmaster, being appointed to that position in November, 1794. It seems that he had been maintaining privately a mail service to the east, however, since November, 1792, along with delivery of copies of the *Gazette*. John Chisholm, who opened on December 17, 1792 the first tavern in Knoxville which advertised in the *Gazette*, had attempted during the preceding two months to raise $250 to start a private post to Virginia. A post road from Abingdon, Virginia, to Knoxville was established by an act of Congress, May 8, 1794, and shortly thereafter the contract for carrying the mail over that route was awarded by the Post Office Department to Edward Teel.[23]

[21] *Knoxville Gazette*, December 17, 1791, p. 4. The lots were not purchased exactly in accordance with the numbers given above. An examination of the deeds in the Knox County Courthouse indicates that the participants in the lottery engaged in a little trading among themselves before the deeds were recorded.

[22] D. C. McMurtrie, *Early Printing in Tennessee* (Chicago, 1933), 19-20.

[23] Carter, *op. cit.*, 267, 343, 364, 377; *Knoxville Gazette*, October 6, November 3, December 29, 1792. Associated with Chisholm in the opening of the tavern were Alex Carmichael, John Wood, and Peter McNamee.

Although Governor Blount wrote on September 3, 1791 that he expected to move with his family to Knoxville before the end of the year, he did not himself take up residence in the new capital of the Territory until January 5, 1792; and his family did not join him until later in the year, because, as he wrote on January 2, "my Houses there are not done."[24] The mansion he had built at the corner of Hill Avenue and State Street, which was recently restored, is noted as the first frame house built west of the Allegheny Mountains. The rapid growth of the town is indicated by the various advertisements printed in the *Knoxville Gazette* in 1792 and 1793. In the issue of August 11, 1792, Nathaniel and Samuel Cowan began advertising a full line of merchandise in their stores "in Knoxville and Jonesborough." On November 17 James White announced his intention to prosecute individuals who were cutting timber on the commons he had donated to the town. He called a meeting of the town commissioners for the following Thursday, apparently to consider that question. Charles McClung, on December 1, advertised powder for sale, in exchange for corn, at the house "where James White formerly lived." By the end of 1793, however, McClung had apparently become a regular storekeeper, for in the January 2, 1794 issue of the *Gazette* he advertised "Goods" for sale. In the meantime, Stephen Duncan and Company had begun advertising, on December 14, 1792, their store at the corner of State and Front streets, "nearly opposite the Governor's office." By February 23, 1793 a "new store" of John Sommerville and Company had been started at approximately the same location. In the *Gazette* for September 8, 1792 Robert Love announced that a "fulling mill" he was erecting within one mile of Campbell's Station would be completed by October 1. The firm of Lard and McCoy, "tanners," began advertising in the issue of June 29, 1793.

On June 11, 1792 Governor Blount created two new counties in the Southwest Territory, Jefferson and Knox, and he designated Knoxville as the county seat of Knox county. Charles McClung was named clerk of the court, Thomas Chapman, register, and William Houston, sheriff.[25] The first meeting of

[24]Carter, *op. cit.*, 79, 109, 110.

[25]Carter, *op. cit.*, 448-49. The justices of the peace appointed for the county were: James White, John Sayers, David Craig, Samuel Newell, John Adair, Hugh Beard, William Wallace, William Lowry, John Kernes, George McNutt, Thomas McCullock, William Hamilton, Jeremiah Jack, John Evans, James Cosby, John Chisholm, Luke Lea, Joseph Loony, David Campbell, John Hackett, Alexander Kelly, and John Manifee.

the county court was held at the home of John Stone on July 16. One of its first acts was the granting of a franchise to Alexander Cunningham to operate a ferry across the river to what is now South Knoxville, and provision was also made for the opening of several roads. At a meeting on January 26, 1793, commissioners were appointed to contract for the building of a jail and a court house.[26] In March, 1793 the Governor formed the two counties of Knox and Jefferson into a new judicial district of Hamilton.[27]

Although Knoxville and Knox county were now growing rapidly, relations with the Indians were still unfriendly, despite the provisions concerning "permanent peace and friendship" included in the Treaty of Holston. Hostile Creek and Cherokee Indians still continued to raid the frontier. Blount was handicapped in his efforts to maintain peace by instructions from the War Department prohibiting the sending out of the territorial militia on punitive expeditions. When the Governor left for the national capital in June, 1793, however, Secretary Smith was unable to prevent a part of the militia under the command of Captain John Beard from engaging in an unauthorized raid against the Indians, which attacked, unfortunately, a group of friendly Cherokees. General war with this tribe was the result, and the town of Knoxville was soon threatened by the approach of several hundred savages. According to tradition, the firing of a gun at the fort, the daily practice at dawn, was taken by the Indians as evidence that their presence had been discovered, and they stopped short of Knoxville and attacked instead a small, isolated settlement at Cavet's Station, some eight miles distant. The Cavet Massacre was followed by a retaliatory raid under the command of General John Sevier, in October, 1793, which destroyed many of the Cherokee towns and assisted materially in reducing the danger of Indian attacks on the town of Knoxville.[28]

According to the law, the Southwest Territory was entitled to have a legislature when the population included five thousand

[26]Ramsey, *Annals,* 568-69; Tennessee Historical Records Survey, *Transcription of County Archives: Minutes of the County Court of Knox County, Book No. "O",* 1792-95. In the *Knoxville Gazette,* of December 29, 1792, Samuel Doak announced the establishment of a ferry across the Holston about six miles above Knoxville by order of the Knox county court. In the issue of June 19, 1794, William McBee announced the establishment of a ferry across the Holston "on the main road to Knoxville" under the same authority.

[27]Carter, *op. cit.,* 453.

[28]*Ibid.,* 271-72, 305-06, 310; Ramsey *Annals,* 577-91.

free white males. When a census was taken in July, 1791, the reports revealed that the population was more than enough to warrant the formation of a territorial legislature; but Blount enjoyed his unhampered rule, and the organization of such an assembly was not effected until 1794.[29] Blount called for the election of thirteen members of a House of Representatives in December, 1793, and this body convened in Knoxville on February 26, 1794. Other than discussing the Indian situation, their main duty was to select ten men, from whom President Washington was to appoint five to constitute the territorial Council. When these five were appointed, they met with the lower house in the first meeting of the whole assembly on August 25, 1794 at Stone's Tavern.[30]

One of the first laws passed by this territorial assembly was an act, passed in September, 1794, legally establishing the town of Knoxville, and confirming the fact that it had been originally established in the year 1791, as is shown by the following quotation from the law:

> WHEREAS in the year one thousand seven hundred and ninety-one, it was found expedient to esteblish [*sic*] a town on the north bank of Holston, immediately below the second creek that runs into the north side of the same, below the mouth of French Broad, Governor Blount having determined to fix the seat of government on the said spot: And whereas a town was accordingly laid out by James White, at the above described place, and called Knoxville in honor of Major General Henry Knox, consisting of the necessary streets and sixty-four lots, numbered from one to sixty four, as will more fully appear, reference being had to the plat of the said town . . . .[31]

The five commissioners appointed in this act succeeded the three commissioners named in the lottery contract of October 3, 1791 as the governing officials of the town. Not until 1797, the year after Tennessee was admitted to the Union, did the legislature authorize the people of Knoxville to elect their own board of commissioners. This law also provided for an extension of the limits of the town and authorized the levying

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[29]Abernethy, *op. cit.*, 133; Carter, *op. cit.*, 81.

[30]*Ibid.*, 309, 328, 461; *Territorial Council Journal*, 1794 (reprinted, Nashville, 1852), 34. In the *Knoxville Gazette*, January 16, 1794, a correspondent protested against the prevalence of "vote buying" in the election in Jefferson county.

[31]George Roulstone (ed.), *Laws of the State of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1803), 39-40. At that time the Holston River was considered as extending to the mouth of the present Little Tennessee. The commissioners named to govern the town were: James King, John Chisholm, Joseph Greer, George Roulstone, and Samuel Cowan.

of taxes on lots, polls, and slaves. If any commissioners were elected under this law, their names are unknown; and in 1801 the legislature passed another act providing for popular election of commissioners. The government of Knoxville remained substantially unchanged until 1815, when a new charter provided for the establishment of the mayor and aldermen type of government. The next year Thomas Emmerson was elected the first mayor of Knoxville.[32]

The territorial assembly, in addition to providing Knoxville with its first charter, also made provision for the improvement of transportation facilities between East Tennessee and the Cumberland settlements by way of Knoxville. It authorized the holding of a lottery to provide the funds for opening a wagon road between Southwest Point (Kingston) and Bledsoe's Lick. On July 31, 1795 it was announced in the *Knoxville Gazette* that the "waggon road" between these points was "now opened." At about this time increased use was being made of the Tennessee River for transportation purposes. John McFarlan announced in the *Gazette* of January 23, 1795 that his two boats of twenty-five and fifteen tons burden, respectively, would be ready to "sail" for New Orleans "by the first of March next (the waters answering)." No notices appeared in the *Gazette* of any sailings from Knoxville, however, prior to June 19, 1795.

One of the most important acts of this first session of the territorial assembly, passed on September 10, 1794, established Blount College, which is now known as the University of Tennessee. This institution was not only named for Governor Blount, but it also included among its earliest students the daughter of the Governor, Barbara Blount, and four other young ladies.[33] Although coeducation was not continued very long, even this temporary policy entitles the college to the credit of being the first coeducational institution of higher learning in the United States. Blount College was also unique for its time in being nonsectarian in character, the charter providing that "students of all denomination may and shall be admitted

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[32] *Ibid.*, 134-36, 305-06; *Acts of Tennessee*, 1815, p. 270; Rule, *op. cit.*, 94. See also J. W. Caldwell, "Knoxville," in L. P. Powell (ed.), *Historic Towns of the Southern States* (New York, 1900), 466-67.

[33] Moses White, *Early History of the University of Tennessee* (Knoxville, 1879), 8, 14. The others of the first five "co-eds" were: Polly McClung, Jennie Armstrong, Mattie Kain, and Kitty Kain.

to the equal advantages of a liberal education." Nevertheless, the first president of the institution was a Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Samuel Carrick, who had started a private school in Knoxville the year before,[34] which may be considered the germ of the University of Tennessee. Carrick was also the first minister in the town and the organizer of the first church congregation, the First Presbyterian Church, in 1792 or 1793. Blount College began operations under the supervision of President Carrick soon after the charter was obtained, using a two-story wooden building erected on land sold to the college by James White, located where the Burwell Building now stands.[35]

In June, 1795 a special session of the territorial assembly, called by Governor Blount, convened in Knoxville for the main purpose of considering the question of statehood. Provision was made for the taking of a census to determine whether the population of the Territory had reached the 60,000 necessary for statehood, and at the same time the opinion of the voters on the question of admission to the Union was to be obtained.[36] According to this census the population of the Southwest Territory (present day Tennessee) was 77,262. The returns for the town of Knoxville are not available, but the population of Knox county was 11,573, of whom 2,365 were slaves. Although Knox county by this time had been reduced in size by the creation of Blount county, it was exceeded in population only by Hawkins county; Knox had already outstripped in density of population the much older county of Washington. The vote of the people of Knox county on the question of statehood was 1,100 to 128 in favor.[37]

In view of the favorable result of the census, Governor Blount issued a call for the election of delegates to a constitutional convention to meet in Knoxville on January 11, 1796. The personnel of this convention included most of the prominent men in the Southwest Territory, many of whom were to

[34]*Knoxville Gazette,* December 1, 1792.

[35]White, *op. cit.,* 9. There are no records of the first church held in Knoxville, but it is probable that Carrick, who organized a congregation at Lebanon-in-the-Fork in 1790 (Ramsey, *History of the Lebanon Presbyterian Church,* 4), also organized a congregation in Knoxville about the time he opened his seminary. When Blount College was re-incorporated as East Tennessee College in 1807 Carrick was continued as president, and he continued in this position until his death in 1809.

[36]Roulstone, *op. cit.,* 51-54.

[37]Carter, *op. cit.,* 404. The vote for the whole territory on the question of statehood was 6,504 in favor, and 2,562 (mainly in Middle Tennessee) against.

become prominent in the history of the state and of the nation. The five delegates elected to represent Knox county were William Blount, who was chosen as presiding officer, James White, Charles McClung, John Crawford, and John Adair. The convention met in the office of David Henley, agent for the War Department in the Southwest Territory, and James White presented a bill for $12.62 for providing seats for the use of the members and three and one half yards of oilcloth. The Reverend Samuel Carrick opened the proceedings with a prayer and a sermon. The task of framing a preliminary draft of a constitution was delegated to a committee under the chairmanship of Daniel Smith, but on which William Blount and Charles McClung were important members. This draft included, of course, provision that Knoxville should be the capital of the state until the General Assembly should provide otherwise.[38]

When the first constitution of the state of Tennessee was completed and adopted by the convention, it was sent to President Washington for submission to the United States Congress. Without waiting for congressional sanction, however, Governor Blount issued a call for the election of members of the state legislature and also of a governor. At this election John Sevier was chosen as the first governor of the state of Tennessee. The legislature convened on March 28, 1796 in Knoxville, and on March 30 Governor Sevier was inauguarated; after taking the oath of office, he delivered a surprisingly brief inaugural address. The next day William Blount and William Cocke were elected as the first two senators to represent Tennessee in the upper house of the United States Congress, and James White, as chairman of the committee appointed for the purpose, prepared an address informing them of their election.[39]

Meanwhile, Congress was involved in an acrimonious debate on the question of admitting Tennessee to the Union. Even though the state government was already in operation, the passage of the act of formal admission was delayed until the last day of the session, June 1, 1796.[40] Tennessee became the sixteenth state in the Union just in time to participate in

[38] *Journal of the Proceedings of a Convention Began and Held at Knoxville, January* 11, 1796 (reprinted, Nashville, 1852), 3-6 *et passim.* See also J. W. Caldwell, *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* (2nd edition, Cincinnati, 1907), 132 ff.; Ramsey, *Annals,* 649-52.

[39] *Ibid.,* 657-62; Tennessee *Senate Journal,* 1796, pp. 8, 9.

[40] *Annals of Congress,* 4 Cong., 1 Sess., 1300-29, 1463, 1473-74.

the presidential election of 1796. In December of that year the three electors, who had been chosen by popular vote, met in Knoxville, the capital of the state, and cast their ballots for the Republican party candidates, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr.[41]

The next year, 1797, the infant town of Knoxville entertained an important visitor, the Duke of Orleans, who later ascended the French throne as the "Citizen King" Louis Philippe. The future king and his two younger brothers, then in exile in the United States, reached Knoxville on April 29, and after spending the night they made a brief call on Governor John Sevier before resuming their journey.[42] Five years later another Frenchman, Francois Andre Michaux, a botanist, visited Knoxville and recorded in his account of his "Travels" an interesting description of the town as it appeared to this foreigner in 1802:

> The houses, in number about 200, are, almost all, of wood. Although it has been built eighteen or twenty years, this little town has not yet any kind of establishment or manufactory, except some tanneries. Commerce, however, is brisker here than at Nashville. The stores, of which there are fifteen or twenty, are also better provided. The merchants obtain their supplies by land, from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Richmond, in Virginia, and, in return, send, by the same channel, the productions of the country, which they buy from the farmers, or take in exchange for their goods . . . .
>
> They also send flour, cotton, and lime, to New Orleans, by the river Tennessee; but this method is not much used, the navigation of this river being very much interrupted, in two different places, by shoals and rocks . . . .
>
> We stopped at Knoxville, at Haynes's, who keeps the best tavern, the sign of the General Washington. Travellers, with their horses, are accommodated here at the rate of a dollar per day.[43]

In closing this brief sketch of the beginnings of Knoxville, it is fitting to quote a comment made by Tennessee's most famous early historian, the Knoxville physician, Dr. J. G. M. Ramsey, who wrote, with pardonable pride in his city and state, in 1853:

> It [Knoxville] became the seat of government of the state of Tennessee, and so continued to be for many years after . . . . The sceptre has departed from her; but time, and change, and progress, cannot deprive her of her

[41]Ramsey, *Annals*, 675; Edward Stanwood, *A History of the Presidency* (New York, 1898), 51.

[42]Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, 431-41.

[43]F. A. Michaux, *Travels to the Westward of the Allegany Mountains* (London, 1805), 89.

ancient honours, nor make her less venerable for the proud associations that cluster around her early history. Here . . . chieftains of the Cherokee nation, met Governor Blount in Council, smoked the pipe of peace, and formed the Treaty of Holston;—here the pious White pitched his tent in the wilderness, lived his life in patriarchal simplicity and unostentatious usefulness; . . . Here the infant Government of the Territory was cradled, and nurtured in its youth by the paternal care of Blount, of Anderson and Campbell. Here, too, the sages and patriots of 1794, met and deliberated, and made laws. Here, too, was born the infant Hercules—since become a giant—Tennessee. Tennessee looks back to Knoxville, and recognizes her as the home of her youth, and the fond centre of her hallowed recollections."

"Ramsey, *Annals*, 639.

FRENCH AND OTHER INTRIGUES IN THE SOUTHWEST TERRITORY, 1790-96.

By SAMUEL C. WILLIAMS

When the War of the Revolution was drawing to a close and the terms of a treaty of peace were under consideration, France, as an ally of the United States, urged upon this country a recognition of Spain's right to by far the larger part of the Tennessee country: all that region south of the Hiwassee River, west of the Clinch, and south and west of the Cumberland.[1] Spain during the war had become an ally of France but not of the United States, and France sought to reward her sister nation. On this and other points, the United States and France could not come to an agreement and the former drew away and negotiated with Great Britain a preliminary treaty of peace, one provision of which ceded to this nation the claims of Great Britain above the 31st parallel of north latitude, from the Mississippi River eastward. Two months later, in a treaty with Spain, Great Britain granted to that country the right to "retain" her conquest of East and West Florida, but without stipulating any definite boundary line. However, Spain did not deem these treaties to work an abandonment or compromise of her rights to territory north of the Anglo-American treaty line, even far to the north of the original boundary of the English province of West Florida, the 32°28′ parallel. Her claim was somewhat modified, though, in that she now asserted rights only to the area south and west of the Tennessee River and its tributary, the Hiwassee.[2] Not until 1795, in the Treaty of San Lorenzo, did she acquiesce in the American claim to the 31st parallel boundary, and it was 1798 before she completely evacuated the territory north of that line.

To that region three distinct American claims to jurisdiction were advanced: those of the government of the United

[1]Francis Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States* (Washington, 1889), VI, 25 *et seq.* Had the plan been carried to success Tennessee would have lost the sites of three of her principal cities, Memphis, Nashville and Chattanooga.

[2]For the original basis of this Spanish claim, see D. C. and Roberta Corbitt, "Papers from the Spanish Archives Relating to Tennessee and the Old Southwest, 1783-1800," in East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (Knoxville, 1937), 115-16.

States, of South Carolina, and of Georgia. The last named claim was the best, and it finally prevailed. Georgia acted with fair promptness in 1785, when she endeavored to establish a county on the banks of the Mississippi around Natchez. Spanish opposition brought it to failure. A group of Southern leaders, largely South Carolinians, composing the South Carolina Yazoo Company, in 1789 obtained from the legislature of Georgia a grant of an immense tract of land, ten million acres, bounded by the Mississippi, the 33rd parallel of latitude, the Tombigbee River and a line running eastward from a point on the Mississippi just above Natchez. At the head of the company, as director, was Alexander Moultrie, brother of ex-Governor William Moultrie. As field agent, Dr. James O'Fallon, a soldier of the Revolution, was chosen. Active steps were taken to form a settlement at the Walnut Hills (site of Vicksburg).[3] Either an accord with the authorities of Spain or open opposition to that power was requisite to the success of the enterprise. As we shall see, such opposition developed; and, in consequence, the shareholders and leaders in South Carolina were gradually drawn into the later intrigues of France launched by the French minister to this country, Edmond Charles Genet.

O'Fallon was sent by his company into the Southwest Territory and Kentucky, and was instructed, if it could be done peacefully, to induce local leaders to collect and send down the Mississippi four or five hundred settlers. The instructions given to O'Fallon were: that he should then

> proceed to New Orleans and take every possible step for securing the concurrence and favor of the Spanish government; . . . to use every endeavor for preventing any difference or dispute between the company's people and the Spaniards or Indians, to make this the leading object of every measure, and to establish on the firmest footing the company's reputation for justice, humanity and an accommodating disposition.[4]

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[3] J. C. Parish, "The Intrigues of Doctor James O'Fallon," in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XVII (September, 1930), 230-63; C. H. Haskins, "The Yazoo Land Companies," in American Historical Association, *Papers*, V (1891), pt. 4, pp. 61ff. At the same time the South Carolina Company obtained its grant, two other speculative companies received similar grants from the state of Georgia. One of these, the Tennessee Company, headed by Zachariah Cox, which obtained a grant of three and a half million acres located at the Muscle Shoals, received some support in the Holston settlements, John Sevier being a member of the corporation. William Blount also at first gave sympathetic backing, but when he became governor of the Southwest Territory, he was compelled to assist in defeating the purposes of the company. An expedition which attempted to found a settlement at the shoals was driven off by the Indians. C. E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, IV, *The Territory South of the River Ohio* (Washington, D. C., 1936), 55n.

[4] *An Extract from the Minutes of the South-Carolina Yazoo Company* (Charleston, 1891), I, 26-30. See also Haskins, *op. cit.*, 61 *et seq.*

O'Fallon set out from Charleston in the early spring of 1790, and on his way toward Kentucky secured the cooperation, as shareholders, of several men who had been leaders in the Revolutionary War; among them were a Colonel Farr of South Carolina, General Charles McDowell of North Carolina, and John Sevier of Trans-Alleghany North Carolina.[5] He visited Jonesborough and the home of Sevier on the Nolachucky, and found that leader, as ever, not averse to speculation in western lands.[6] Few Westerners were. Sevier engaged to serve as sub-agent for the region formerly covered by the State of Franklin, and to receive a share in the purchase of the company. Sevier on February 11, 1790, had written to Director Moultrie asking the privilege of joining the company.[7]

In Kentucky O'Fallon came in contact with James Wilkinson, who betrayed the field agent as he was betraying his own country. Wilkinson was too wily for O'Fallon and succeeded in undermining him by reporting his efforts to the Spanish Governor Estevan Miro. Indeed, the choice of O'Fallon by the South Carolina Company was an unfortunate one. Though well educated he was essentially weak. His favorite exercise was "drawing the long bow" in lengthy, flamboyant letters. His first attempt was to persuade Miro that he, a fellow Roman Catholic, was ready to bring any colony of his company on the Yazoo River into an alliance with Spain and into a position to serve her interests. The next endeavor was to intimidate the Spanish governor by false representations as to the use of large military forces to establish and defend a colony. In a twelve page letter to Miro, dated July 16, 1790, after the United States Congress had passed the act for the creation of the Southwest Territory, O'Fallon fulminated that

> There were already engaged from the Carolinas, Georgia, and Franklin [eastern part of Southwest Territory] "from three to five thousand well armed Men, without incumbrances of Females, or Children," who would move out with the first establishment. This number did not include those who would come from Kentucky or the forces sent by other land com-

[5]The Congress had not yet accepted the cession of the western part of North Carolina. O'Fallon reached Kentucky April 27th, about a month before the Southwest Territory was created by an act of Congress. Carter, *op. cit.*, 13, 18.

[6]For an earlier participation in speculation in lands in the "Great Bend" of the Tennessee (North Alabama) by Sevier, Blount, Joseph Martin, Griffith Rutherford and others, see S. C. Williams, *History of the Lost State of Franklin* (Johnson City, 1924), Ch. III.

[7]Draper MSS. (Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison) 5XX23; Parish, *op. cit.*, 240n.

panies. The colonists were to meet at the Long Island of Holston River whence boats would take them down the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers to the Yazoo. They planned to arrive with strength superior to any attack. They were to be arranged by companies in military townships with 100 fighting men in each. The companies were to be grouped in battalions, battalions in brigades, and the whole subject to rigid military discipline. In addition to this militia, there would be a standing force of three cavalry companies and 400 infantrymen always on duty.

This . . . "may bring a *Firebrand* to your Door, which however effectually you may be enabled to circumscribe its blaze for a time, may at length throw such a spark into the combustables which daily accummulate within the Bowells of these States, as would eventually plunge this Empire and your's into a general combustion."[8]

It would not be easy to decide whether O'Fallon's turgid rhetoric overtopped the fertility of his invention. If a decision must be made, it should be in favor of the latter. No such "forces" as he pictured existed except in his imagination. As to looking to Sevier for aid, he knew that no cooperation from that quarter would be forthcoming. This fact is betrayed in a letter he wrote from Kentucky to Director Moultrie, in November, announcing that the first detachment of 300 men would start down the river in five or six days: "I stay here that I may leave nothing of moment to chance. Sevier is jealous; he is of great moment to our interests. Why have you not written to him?" Yet a few days before he had written to Eastern newspapers that General Charles Scott of Kentucky was to take 500 families to the Yazoo country; that Wilkinson was to follow with 1,000 fighting men by Christmas and General Sevier was to take down a similar number, while General McDowell would accompany the former Franklinites from the Long Island of Holston with 300 from western North Carolina, and 200 were to go from the Cumberland settlement.[9]

The scheme, left to the inept guidance of O'Fallon, collapsed when Wilkinson succeeded in his undermining tactics. The batallion of 500 which O'Fallon was himself embodying was soon reduced to fifty men, and these never started southward to the Walnut Hills, where Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, the ablest and most enterprising of all the Spanish officers, erected a fort and garrisoned it by a force amply able to defeat any aggressive plan of the South Carolina Company or its agent.[10] To bolster

[8]As summarized by Parish (*op. cit.*, 242), from a copy in the Louisiana Manuscripts in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

[9]Parish, *op. cit.*, 245-46.

[10]*Ibid.*, 247, 256.

the waning fortunes of his company, O'Fallon, in the closing days of 1790, made a trip to the Southwest Territory to see James Robertson on the Cumberland and William Blount and John Sevier east of the Cumberland Mountains.[11]

Overseas the friendly relations between England and Spain became strained in 1790 by the Nootka Sound episode. At the same time France and Spain drifted toward war because of the French Revolution, and France began to set covetous eyes on Spain's Louisiana, including her claims to territory east of the Mississippi and south of the Tennessee—territory which France had previously endeavored to secure for her then ally, Spain, at the expense of the United States. The pendulum had now swung to the opposite extreme.

As war between France and Spain grew more imminent Dr. O'Fallon saw an opportunity and sought to join the fortunes of his company and himself with the plans of the French to seize the possessions of Spain in the South. Circumvented and flustrated by Wilkinson, he turned to the leading rival of Wilkinson in Kentucky, the hero of the conquest of the Northwest during the Revolutionary War, Colonel George Rogers Clark. The Doctor cultivated Clark, who proved to be an easy mark. The aging hero had fallen a victim of strong drink and was nursing a deep and just resentment against the state of Virginia and the nation because of their failure to compensate him for his services and to repay his personal expenditures for the public cause. In February, 1791, O'Fallon married Frances, youngest sister of Clark, thus cementing their connection. By the latter part of 1792, the two brothers-in-law had concerted plans for attacking the Spaniards with French support. Clark wrote a letter, perhaps composed by O'Fallon, proposing to the French government to recruit a military force west of the Alleghanies which should operate under the French flag in the reduction of the Spanish forts in the Mississippi Valley.[12]

[11] *Ibid.*, 251. O'Fallon claimed that Robertson was his sub-agent on the Cumberland and Sevier in the old State of Franklin region. O'Fallon to Miro, Dec. 17, 1790, Archivo General de Indias, Papeles de Estado, legajo 9 (transcript in Newberry Library, Chicago).

[12] Parish, *op. cit.*, 249-59; F. J. Turner (ed.), "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1896, I, 967 *et seq.* O'Fallon was in correspondence with the celebrated Thomas Paine, then in Paris as a member of the National Convention of France, and Paine undertook to use his good offices in behalf of Clark, O'Fallon, and the South Carolina Yazoo Company. He wrote that "in a week or two hence a war against Spain will in all liklihood be declared." L. P. Kellogg (ed.), "Letters of Thomas Paine, 1793," in *American Historial Review*, XXIX (April, 1924), 501-05.

In December, 1792, the appointment of a new minister of France to this country had been determined upon, and instructions were issued to Edmond Charles Genet, the appointee, who was to formulate and carry forward plans against Spain and her possessions. Genet arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, in April following. There he made contact with the Moultries and other South Carolinians who were interested in the South Carolina Yazoo Company, and easily led them to favor the plans of France and to participate therein. Genet selected Andre Michaux as his agent to go to Kentucky and communicate with Clark and other leaders of that state. Michaux was a botanist and traveled as such so far as the public could observe, but in fact his mission was to advance the French intrigue against Spain.[13] Michaux was in Kentucky during the months from August to November of 1793 and returned through the northeastern portion of the Southwest Territory, passing through Hawkins Court House and past the Long Island of Holston into Virginia. It is to be observed that he made no effort to contact Sevier, Blount or any other leader in the Southwest Territory on this first journey.[14]

In Kentucky Michaux delivered to Clark a French commission, naming him "Commander-in-chief of the Independent and Revolutionary Army of the Mississippi."[15] Clark accepted the appointment, and news of that fact was not long in reaching the Southwest Territory, where it made glad the heart of the rough-and-ready Colonel John Montgomery, who had followed and materially furthered the fortunes of Clark in the wresting of the Northwest from the British. Montgomery, after these campaigns, had settled on the Cumberland River and aided in founding a town to which he gave the name of Clarksville, in honor of his former leader. From there he wrote to Clark:

Clarksville, 26th October, 1793.

Dr. Gen'l

I received a letter from a friend of Mine in Kentucky Announcing that you had received a Commission from the National Assembly of France and that you had Accepted the Same. Together with a Number of Commissions Under your Command. I had the honor of Conversing with you when I was in Kentucky on the Subject, wherein I expressed a will-

[13]Turner, *op. cit.*, 957-67, 987-96.

[14]S. C. Williams (ed.), *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country* (Johnson City, 1930), 327-30.

[15]Turner, *op. cit.*, 996, 1008.

ingness to embark into the business with you provided I could be Honored with a Command under you and was happy enough to have your promise of favour. I have taken the priviledge to acquaint you that I have collected the sentiments of a number of the principle Inhabitants of this Country relative to the matter, and find that it will be in my power to raise Several Hundreds for your Service in a very short period of time . . . . I wish to have your answer and directions in every respects as early as possible in order to know what to be at . . . . there are several old veteran officers residing in my part of the Country that are very willing to Serve in your Command under me provided you should think proper to leave it in my power to favour them, they may be exceedingly Serviceable in raising and Dessiplening troops . . . . I send you health, and am with every Sentiment of Esteem Dr Genl

Your Obt Servt,

John Montgomery[16]

This tender of services could not fail of being gratefully received by Clark. Montgomery became busy in preparation and by January 12, 1794, was able to report to his chief his progress in assembling military stores for the expedition by the force under him: 30 pounds of good powder, 117 pounds of lead, about 19,000 weight of beef, 1,100 of bear meat, about 70 pairs of venison hams, 500 bushels of corn, and 10,000 pounds of pork. For carriage there had been built one large flat-bottom boat and four pirogues. All those articles, he declared, "you will perceive have been purchased on the Credit and faith of you and the French [na]tion with my exertions. It would be needless for me to say more. I am ruened if neglected."[17]

Shortly Baron de Carondelet, who had succeeded Miro as Spain's governor at New Orleans, wrote: "I have just learned that a certain General Montgomery of Cumberland had posted himself near the mouth of the Ohio with 200 men and had stopped all the boats which descended to New Orleans loaded with provisions."[18] Colonel Montgomery had erected near the mouth of the Cumberland a rude wooden fort and camp, and intercepted boats on the Mississippi, even such as belonged to the Spanish government itself. When General Anthony Wayne, in command of the United States armed forces in the region, heard of this he sent an expedition which destroyed the fort and

[16] *Ibid.*, 1018-19.

[17] *Ibid.*, 1034. The nature of these supplies demonstrates the pioneer conditions then prevailing on the Cumberland. Doubtless Montgomery was never repaid, since Clark himself failed to receive from the French government any payment on his accounts, though Samuel Fulton went to Paris and made persistent efforts in his behalf. *Ibid.*, 1095-98.

[18] *Ibid.*, 1039.

released captured boats yet held near it. General Wayne built a new Fort Massac nearly opposite the mouth of the Tennessee River to prevent the passage of any Kentuckians under Clark down the Mississippi.[19] Old Fort Massac had been erected by the French in colonial times as a barrier to the advance of the British and Americans; now the tables were turned against France.

It must not escape observation that Montgomery's force penetrated farther towards the goal than any other troops enlisted by or for Clark. They vainly awaited the arrival of the Kentuckians, whose leader had lost his old-time vigor and initiative; and the national government was at last exhibiting vigor and initiative in the suppression of the campaign. While Montgomery's force was camped at the mouth of the Cumberland, their presence there was reported to the Spanish commandant at Lance La Grace (New Madrid), who "immediately dispatched a party of Chickasaw Indians, who fell upon them, killed three, wounded four and dispersed the remainder as he was informed by a gentleman who saw the affray."[20]

Genet set on foot another movement, the sources of which were in South Carolina and Georgia. To Capt. William Tate of South Carolina was entrusted the command of a force which was to use the Tennessee River for transport. Tate was to contact and engage a force of Cherokee Indians and another from the inhabitants of "the back parts of Carolina," including, it seems, some of those of the Southwest Territory. Tate, as well as O'Fallon, was a wishful thinker; he later stated that he had been successful in enlisting 2,000 men. But if he ever appeared on the Tennessee or in the bounds of the Southwest Territory, no record left shows the fact.[21] However, that territory, situated as it was between South Carolina and Georgia on the south and Kentucky on the north, was in a strategic position to help, neutralize, or hinder any movement against Spain's territory.

Late in 1793 Samuel Fulton, a resident of West Florida, who had been expelled from that region by Spain, journeyed through the Cherokee country

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[19] *Ibid.*, 1061, 1080.

[20] *Ibid.*, 1063.

[21] F. J. Turner (ed.), "Mongourit Correspondence," in American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1897, pp. 571, 574.

to Knoxville thare hearing of an expedition from Kentucky against the Spaniards by order of Mr. Genett I being then in hopes of releaving some of my Destressed Fellow Cityans was happy to imbrace so good a Cause. And with Some letters of recommendations from Governor Blount went forward to Kentucky to Joyn Genl Clark and Shortly after my arrival thare he thought Fit to Give me the appointment of a Major In the Horse for that expedition.[22]

In the following spring Fulton, accompanied by General Auguste de la Chaise, a Louisiana French creole commissioned by Genet, came from Kentucky into the Territory. On July 21 Fulton wrote to Clark: "General Lashais [la Chaise] and myself parted at Hawkins Court House I went to Knoxville and Staid ten Days, he persued on by the way of Richmond." Fulton met with "a Disappointment at Knoxville" by reason of the absence of Governor Blount.[23] It is apparent that Clark was solicitous to draw Blount and others in the Territory into cooperation through Fulton.

In regard to the statement of Colonel Montgomery as to the sentiment of the Cumberland people, the following is revealing. Under date of July 18, 1793, Secretary of State Jefferson recorded:

At a meeting at the President's, Gen. Knox tells us that Gov. Blount (now in town) has informed him that when Mountflorence[24] was in France, certain members of the Executive Council enquired of him what were the dispositions of Cumberland Settlement toward Spain? Mountflorence told them, unfriendly. They then offered him a commission to embody troops there, and to give him a quantity of blank commissions to be filled up by him, making officers of the republic of France those who should command, and undertook to pay the expenses.[25]

The efforts to win over the leaders of the Territory proved unavailing, save only in the case of Colonel Montgomery. From 1791 Sevier and Robertson had been in the service of the

[22]Turner, "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," 1063-64. See also *ibid.*, 1076.

[23]*Ibid.*, 1067, 1076.

[24]James Cole Mountflorence (or Montflorence), a Frenchman, had resided for some years on the Cumberland and was in a position to know the public sentiment there. His declining to accept a French commission perhaps evidenced his belief that, though the people in the Cumberland settlements heartily disliked the Spaniards, they were unwilling to plunge their country into a war against them, to the advantage of the French. Mountflorence had served as a soldier of the Revolution in North Carolina before moving out to the Cumberland. He returned to France and towards the close of the century he was connected with the chancellery of the American embassy in Paris. Carter, *op. cit.*, 71n. His career was such as to deserve recording in a more detailed biographical sketch than has yet been accorded it. As it is, he is a shadowy figure.

[25]Jefferson MSS. (Library of the U. S. Department of State, Washington, D. C.).

national government as brigadier-generals, under commissions from President Washington. While both of them, like Washington, Patrick Henry, and a host of other leaders, were, as has been said, not averse to speculating in lands, they were far from doing anything that would embroil their country in hostile actions toward a foreign power, such as Spain. The earliest mention by Blount of Genet and his machinations was in August, 1793, in a letter from Philadelphia, where he was on official business. He wrote: "Government has been much embarrass'd by the conduct of Mr. Genet the French minister, a warm violent Jacobin with little information as to the custom & usages of Nations . . . . All attempts to injure our happy Government, the best yet discovered, serve to strenthen [it] and to call more fully into view its worth."[26]

In January following, Blount wrote to Robertson, referring first to Montgomery's participation:

> I am surprised and mortified at the information that a part of the Citizens of Mero District, who have so repeatedly complained, that a sufficient degree of defensive Protection is not extended to them, should be about to engage in an offensive War against their peaceful neighbors. Should these inconsiderate Persons actually carry their scheme so far into execution as to make an attempt to conquer West Florida, which is certainly all they can do, they will unquestionably involve the United States, in a general War, and lay themselves liable to heavy Pains and penalties, both pecuniary and corporal, in case they ever return to their injured Country.
>
> It is Sir, the Duty of yourself, and every Officer of the Government to discountenance, and prevent by all legal ways and means, the execution of a Plan, so replete with bad consequences to every part of our common Country and Interest, particularly to your Infant District . . . .
>
> These Shemes must proceed from the Machenations no doubt of that Jacobin Incendiary Genet, which is reason sufficient to make every honest mind revolt at the very Idea . . . .[27]

However, in a letter to Sevier, Blount expressed the opinion that Genet's instructions from the French revolutionary government justified his conduct, but that censure must fall on his government.[28] The editorial policy of the *Knoxville Gazette,* the only

[26]To the judges of the Territory, in "Correspondence of General James Robertson," in *American Historical Magazine,* II (Nashville, 1897), 371-72. Also printed in Carter, *op. cit.,* 301-02.

[27]From Knoxville, January 18, 1794. *American Historical Magazine,* III (1898), 278-80. Also in Turner, *op. cit.,* 1036-37, and in Carter, *op. cit.,* 324-25.

[28]Knoxville, February 9, 1794. Draper MSS. (Tennessee Papers), 4XX38. It is printed in Carter, *op. cit.,* 327. Notwithstanding these actions of Governor Blount, he was charged by Baron de Carondelet with giving aid to the intriguers, a charge which was categorically denied by Blount. John Haywood, *Civil and Political History of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1891), 424.

newspaper in the Territory, was distinctly anti-Genet. The policy of that organ was dictated in large part by Governor Blount, and in less degree by General Sevier.[29] On April 3, 1794, Blount wrote Secretary Daniel Smith that the movement had collapsed on the recall of Genet by the French government.[30] Indeed, the end seemed to be at hand when the newly-arrived French minister, Fauchet, issued a proclamation (March 6) forbidding Frenchmen to violate the neutrality of the United States, and ordering the termination of any expedition against Spanish possessions.[31] But, as we shall see, the French continued to cherish the hope of using the manpower of the West to secure those possessions, at least in part.

The sentiment of the people in the Cumberland settlements at a later date was reflected in a letter from young Andrew Jackson. There the frequent and violent attacks by the Creek and Chickamauga Indians and the backwardness of the national government to give defensive aid produced no little discontent. The militia from the eastern part of the Territory had to make expeditions to the Cumberland country to steady the people there. Jackson wrote in May, 1794:

> I dread the Consequence of the Esuing [Ensuing] Summer. The Indians appear Verry Troublesome the frontier Discouraged and breaking and numbers leaving the Territory and moving to Kentucky, this Country is Declining fast, and unless Congress lends us a more ample protection this Country will have at leangth to break or seek a protection from some other Source than the present.[32]

In the year 1795 Andre Michaux was again in the Southwest Territory and in Kentucky, visiting Knoxville, Nashville, Clarksville, Louisville and other points. He again traveled as a botanist, but the places and persons visited make it more than probable that he was as much interested in reviving the plan for an expedition as he was in herborizing. It may be observed that in November of that year Clark was proposing to the authorities of France that the scheme be revived: "He stated that the affections of the body of the people to the interest of France" had been revived, and that "no opposition that would be made in this quarter could stop their Career ware they again

[29]George Roulstone, its editor, corresponded with Sevier in regard to Genet's intrigue. Draper Collection, 54 Clark MSS., 5.

[30]Carter, *op. cit.*, 333.

[31]Turner, "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," 941.

[32]To John McKee, May 16, 1794. J. S. Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1936), I, 13.

to be put in Motion."[33] The effort, however, gained no momentum.

Early in the year 1796, P. A. Adet, who was then France's minister to the United States, commissioned General Victor Collot to reconnoiter the western country and to report in detail on the military situation there—a task which Collot described as "so auspicious to my wishes."[34] His views of the situation in the Southwest Territory were thusly expressed:

> All the roads which run from either North Carolina, South Carolina or Georgia unite in two points: at Wataga [Watauga] situated at the confluence of the Wataga and Holsten [Holston] rivers; and at Sevier's court house, situated at the confluence of Limestone creek and French Broad river. The distance between these two points may be about 40 or 45 miles. As to the face of the country it is covered with hills and woods, and is generally of a very difficult access. The manner of occupying this position on a large scale would be to fill all the mentioned space with troops, the left wing at Wataga and the right at Sevier. The *depot* would be placed at Long Island, a few miles below Wataga on the river Holsten.
>
> If I am asked why I do not rather place the *depot* at Knoxville, which is a central point where all the roads and waters join, I shall answer that Knoxville, being one hundred miles farther from the line of operations than Long Island, would lengthen that line too much, and consequently deprive that frontier of all the advantages it has received from Nature for its defense: besides which Long Island is more favorably placed for communication with the Green Briar and Pittsburg . . . .

Collot concluded his letter with this significant paragraph:

> From thence I conclude that the Western States of the North American republic must unite themselves with Louisiana and form in the future one compact nation; else that colony to whatever power it shall belong will be conquered or devoured.[35]

Thus is seen a faint flickering of an old dream of France—one which dated back to early colonial times: the extension of that nation's rule over all the wide expanse of territory west of the Appalachian Mountains.[36] The designs of France on Louisiana by no means ceased after Collot's journeyings. Indeed his investigations may be deemed but a link between Genet's in-

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[33]F. J. Turner, "Correspondence of Clark and Genet," 1096. It appears that Clark's commission was renewed as late as 1796. *Ibid.*, 944; Archives des Affaires Etrangeres (Paris), Vol. 47, pp. 112, 114, 246.

[34]For Collot's journeyings and observations, see S. C. Williams, *Early Travels*, 345 *et seq.*

[35]*Ibid.*, 353-54.

[36]As to which, see S. C. Williams, *Dawn of Tennessee Valley and Tennessee History* (Johnson City, 1937), *passim.*

trigue and the retrocession by Spain of Louisiana to the France of Napoleon near the beginning of the 1800's. A continuity of interest and endeavor on the part of France from 1789 to 1800 is shown by the archives of that country and of Spain. One result of these intrigues was a bold step by the boldest of the Spanish officials on the Mississippi, Gayoso. In May, 1794, he negotiated a treaty with one of two rival factions of the Chickasaw tribe by which was ceded to Spain a portion of the Lower Chickasaw Bluff (site of the city of Memphis), and soon he began the erection of Fort San Fernando, named in honor of the Prince of Asturias. It was completed by the following May.[37]

This step was one to hold both France and the Americans of the Old Southwest in check. Baron de Carondelet and the officers under him had a wholesome fear of the western Americans. The Baron's picture of the predicament of Spain's possessions on the Mississippi and of the dangers that threatened from the hardy pioneers of the Kentucky and Tennessee countries is not equalled for grasp and vision by any of his contemporaries:

> . . . the immoderate ambition of a new people, adventurous and hostile to all subjection, who have gone on gathering and multiplying in the silence of peace and almost unnoticed, with a prodigious rapidity, since the recognition of the independence of the United States . . . . The fertility of the soil, the charms of the climate, the promising navigation of the Misisipi [*sic*] and the Ohio, the spirit of insubordination and the revolutions of Europe attracted so many people to Kentucky and to the lands west of the Alegany . . . .
>
> This vast and restless population, progressively driving the Indian tribes before them and upon us, seek to possess themselves of all the vast regions which the Indians occupy . . . thus becoming our neighbors at the same time that they demand with menaces the free navigation of the Misisipi . . . . Their mode of growth and their policy are as formidable for Spain as their arms . . . . Their roving spirit and the readiness with which these people procure sustenance and shelter, facilitates rapid settlement. A rifle and a little corn-meal in a bag is sufficient for an American wandering alone in the woods for a month; . . . with tree-trunks placed transversely he forms a house, and even an impregnable fort against the Indians, building a second story above the first. The cold does not terrify him, and when a family grows weary of one locality it moves to another and settles there with the same ease . . . .
>
> If such men come to occupy the banks of the Misisipi and Misuri, or secure their navigation, there is no doubt that nothing will prevent them

[37] S. C. Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee* (Johnson City, 1930), 53-54.

from crossing and penetrating into our provinces on the other side . . . . In my opinion, a general revolution, in America, threatens Spain, unless a remedy be applied promptly and forcibly . . . .

By means of our allies the Chactas [Choctaws], Chicachas [Chickasaws], Cricks [Creeks] and Cheroquies [Cherokees], who, fearing the irruptions of the Americans, will be disposed, provided always they be incited with presents and arms, to levy the most destructive warfare.[38]

The fort, frequently called Fort Ferdinand, was occupied by Spanish forces within the limits of the Southwest Territory until the spring of 1797, despite protests.[39] Of this invasion of the soil of the United States, President Washington in his talk to the Chickasaws, August 22, 1795, said:

The act of the Spaniards in taking possession of the Chickasaw Bluff is an unwarrantable aggression as well against the United States as to the Chickasaws to whom the land there belongs. I shall send talks, and do whatever else shall appear to me proper to induce the Spanish king or his governor to remove their people from the Station, and to make no more encroachments on your lands.[40]

The evacuation in 1797, though delayed, was the result of the Treaty of San Lorenzo of 1795.

The British authorities, seeing the efforts of the French to seize the Spanish possessions in the South, began the formulation of plans of their own to attack the sick wolf. The Duke of Portland in October, 1795, in a "most private" dispatch to Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe of Canada, desired to be informed whether the frontiersmen in the Old Southwest could be brought to cooperate with Great Britain in a seizure of Spain's colonies. He ordered that, instead of opening direct communications, leaders in the western settlements be so cultivated "as will be likely to give this country a facility and advantage in acting with them," carefully refraining from giving cause for suspicion or umbrage to the Spaniards in the meantime. The Duke

[38]F. J. Turner (ed), "Carondelet on the Defense of Louisiana, 1794," *in American Historical Review*, II (April, 1897), 477-78.

[39]S. C. Williams, *Beginnings of West Tennessee*, 49-58. Of course, it was not given the Baron to forsee that it would be Tennesseans to whom President Jefferson would look, in 1803, for aid in prizing the foot of the Spaniards from New Orleans. As to which, see S. C. Williams, "Tennessee's First Military Expedition," in *Tennessee Historical Magazine*, VIII (Nashville, 1924), 171-90.

[40]"Correspondence of James Robertson," *loc. cit.*, III, 393-94. Piomingo (Mountain Leader) headed the delegation of Chickasaws to the seat of the Federal government. He and Colbert led the faction of the tribe which opposed the cession to the Spanish of lands on the Lower Bluff. Piomingo was the greatest of the tribe of his generation. He visited East Tennessee several times to consult with Sevier and other leaders.

suggested that the Southern Indian tribes be prepared to render assistance. Seemingly the plan never went further than the embryonic stage.[41] No trace of any effort at that time to contact leaders of the Southwest Territory has been found. Indeed, the Revolutionary War was too recent for men of that region to look with the least favor upon cooperation with the English. Sentiment in the Territory was then anti-British and pro-French, notwithstanding their revolution.[42] Indeed, as early as April, 1794, a majority of the American people were for war with Great Britain in order to aid the French in their revolution.

What is called "The Blount Conspiracy" was not yet in its initial stage. It followed some time after the admission of Tennessee into the Union and constitutes a part of the history of the state.[43] As such its treatment falls outside the limits of this paper.

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[41]E. A. Cruikshank, *The Simcoe Papers* (Toronto, 1926), IV, 110.

[42]This was made rather markedly manifest in legislative proceedings. In the first session of the General Assembly of the state of Tennessee (March, 1796) the French revolutionary leveling mode of referring to personages was adopted: "[It] appears that Citizen John Sevier is duly and constitutionally elected governor of this State...." Tennessee *Senate Journal*, 1796, p. 6. In notifying Blount and Cocke of their election as senators in Congress, they were formally addressed as "citizens." *Ibid.*, 10. The anti-British feeling was by no means lessened by the bellicose address delivered by Lord Dorchester, governor-general of Canada, to the Indians of the West. In that address (February, 1794) he prophesied an immediate war between Great Britain and the United States and sought an alliance with the red men. This "talk" was intended to be kept secret, but intelligence of his utterances soon leaked throughout the country. There promptly followed bills in Congress for the sequestration of British property in this country and for a vigorous discrimination against the British flag on the seas. S. F. Bemis, *Jay's Treaty* (New York, 1923), 36 *et passim*. These measures received the support of Jeffersonians; and the men of the Southwest Territory, speaking in the large, were followers of Jefferson rather than Hamilton.

[43]Was that movement a carry-over or revival of the Duke of Portland's scheme? Consult J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1885), VI, 339 *et seq.*

THE COVENANTERS COME TO TENNESSEE

By Theron Alexander, Jr.

To the green forest that stretched over the great eastern range and covered the fertile valleys of East Tennessee, there came, in 1769, the first of a great number of peculiar men. Their peculiarity was their religion.

Over a century before, in Edinburgh, Scotland, on February 28, 1638, their ancestors had left the deepening shadows in the graveyard of Greyfriars Church after having signed a Covenant.[1] The Scottish people had pledged themselves to remain in the profession of their religion and to stand by each other in its defense. Because of this stand the monarchs of England persecuted the Scots. So, for almost two centuries after the accession of the first Stuart the people of Scotland sought homes elsewhere. First they turned to Ireland. It was in the minds of the Scots, though, that it was possible to continue to America if conditions were unbearable in Ulster.[2] They were not to find a home there, and the exodus from Ireland began in great numbers in the early part of the eighteenth century. The famine years of 1740 and 1741 caused large numbers to leave Ulster and come to America. It is estimated that for several years the emigrants from Ulster annually amounted to 12,000.[3]

The Scotch-Irish in Tennessee were pioneers of the frontiers of Virginia and the Carolinas. The Scottish emigrants from Ulster came into America by two routes. They entered by way of the Delaware River and by way of Charleston, South Carolina.[4] In the fertile lands of the Yadkin and the Catawba the northern tide met with the southern tide and flowed toward the Watauga, Holston, French Broad, and Clinch River settlements founding the state of Tennessee.[5] The Scotch-Irish dominated the early frontier or back country; however, other races were represented, German, English, Welsh, Irish, and French, all of whom soon became one race—the backwoodsmen.[6]

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[1]John Mackintosh, *The Story of Scotland* (New York, 1890), 193.
[2]Henry Jones Ford, *The Scotch-Irish in America* (Princeton, 1915), 165.
[3]*Ibid.*, 198-99.
[4]Charles A. Hanna, *The Scotch-Irish* (New York and London, 1902), II, 37.
[5]*Ibid.*
[6]Philip M. Hamer, *Tennessee—A History*, 1673- 1932 (New York, 1933), I, 60.

Because of the religious belief of the Ulster Scot, Old World persecutions naturally affected his livelihood and made him a zealot as a churchman and a zealot as a merchant.[7] From a past of suffering, maltreatment, and expatriation, there emerged a high principled, strong, fearless man who was tenacious of his own rights, and confident of his own power.[8]

In America Presbyterianism began its existence as an organization in Pennsylvania in 1706. The Covenanter, Francis Makemie, led the movement. The body formed was called the Presbytery of Philadelphia.[9] In a dozen years the Scotch-Irish stream had swelled to large proportions, and by 1730 the Presbytery of Philadelphia had grown into the Synod of Philadelphia.

On the 21st of May, 1789, the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America met in Philadelphia in the Second Presbyterian Church according to the appointment of the late Synod of New York and Philadelphia.[10] This was the first meeting of the new body. Listed among the constituents was Abingdon Presbytery, from whom a report was made as follows:

> The Presbytery of Abingdon was constituted in the year 1786; extends in length from the New River on the northeast to the frontiers on Tennessee River on the south west, at present about two hundred miles; and from the Blue or Eastern Ridge of the Appalachian mountains to the Cumberland mountains, about one hundred and forty miles in breadth . . . .[11]

It is of interest to note the constituency of Abingdon Presbytery, because it was the first in Tennessee and because it was the one from which Union Presbytery was formed. In the presbytery there were Charles Cummings,[12] pastor of Sinking Spring (Abingdon, Virginia); Hezekiah Balch, at Mount Bethel; John Cosson,[13] at Providence; Samuel Doak, at Salem; and James Balch, listed as "Probationer."[14]

The frontier was moving westward. People who had pushed onward had been concerned with wresting a livelihood from the

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[7]Constance L. Skinner, *Pioneers of the Old Southwest* (New Haven, 1919), 5.
[8]*Ibid.*, 16.
[9]Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The Founding of American Civilization* (New York, 1938), 174.
[10]*Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia, 1847), 5 (May 21, 1789). Hereafter this work will be cited as *Assembly Minutes.*
[11]*Ibid.*, 131 (May 24, 1797).
[12]This name is variously spelled.
[13]This name is spelled in more than one way in the records.
[14]*Assembly Minutes*, 20 (May 25, 1789).

wilderness. They had been their own teachers, preachers, and physicians. Consequently, they were glad when the opportunity for the organization of a church materialized. For their time the Presbyterian preachers were above the average in general education and in their knowledge of church polity, but the high requirements prescribed by the church caused a shortage in the supply of ministers. When the backwoods preacher came to the settlement, his fiery zeal, his fundamental, practical preaching made the people desire religion.

To the Southwest came Rev. Charles Cummings in 1772 to settle on the Holston.[15] He was born in Ireland, but he came to America when a young man. He received a good education and was licensed by the Presbytery of Hanover on April 18, 1767. For a time thereafter he worked in Augusta county, Virginia. Then, on coming to the Holston Valley, he served the people of Ebbing Spring and Sinking Spring and all Presbyterians in the valley down to the Tennessee line.[16] Cummings was of middle stature and he carried himself with dignity. His voice was strong and far reaching and his enunciation careful and distinct. Possessing a strong character, he disapproved of any movement or restlessness in his congregation despite the fact that he preached two long sermons in one meeting.

The man to whom should go the credit for establishing the first permanent Presbyterian church in Tennessee is Dr. Samuel Doak. With great difficulty Doak secured a college education, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts from New Jersey College in 1775; then he studied theology. Following his licensure on October 31, 1777, by Hanover Presbytery, he preached for a while in Washington county, Virginia, and then went to the Holston settlement. Because of the great scarcity of food in the settlement Doak was forced to go about thirty miles to the north for supplies. He left his wife at home alone during

[15]This date is given erroneously as 1773 in E. H. Gillett, *History of the Presbyterian Church in America* (Philadelphia, 1864), I, 425. The date of 1772 is substantiated by a man who knew Cummings personally; see letter to Sprague from David Campbell, governor of Virginia (1850), in William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit* (New York, 1857-69), III, 286, and further substantiation can be had from the *Assembly Minutes,* 131 (May 24, 1797).

[16]Some writers confuse, perhaps, the Sinking Spring Church in Virginia with the one in Greeneville, Tennessee. William Warren Sweet in his *Religion on the Frontier* (New York, 1936), II, 33-34, gives the date as 1773 for the Virginia church and uses Gillett's work as a source. The Sinking Spring Church in Greeneville, Tennessee, was founded in 1786 by James Balch, a cousin of Hezekiah Balch. See Minutes of the Session and Church Register of the Timber Ridge Church (in possession of B. F. Bowers, Greeneville, Tennessee).

these trips, and on one such occasion Mrs. Doak heard dogs barking and became afraid. She hid in the forest with her baby asleep in her arms. Concealed there, she watched Cherokee Indians ransack her house and then set it on fire. After a trip of ten miles through the forest she met her husband the next day.

After living at the Holston settlement Doak moved to the settlement on the Little Limestone. There in 1780 the "Salem Congregation" was formed.[17] He built two log houses, one for a school and the other for the congregation. The school became Martin's Academy in 1785 and Washington College in 1795.[18] From its incorporation in 1785 until 1818 Dr. Doak was president.[19]

It was Dr. Doak's habit to jot down his thoughts for his sermon on a piece of paper, not so much for pulpit use as for the purpose of collecting his thoughts. His method is shown by the following, taken from a scrap of paper in his own bad handwriting:

Heb. 10: 38. Now the just shall live by Faith; but if any man draw back, my soul shall have no pleasure in him. 1. Who are intended by the just and how do they become so. 2. What is intended by faith and how shall the just live by it. 3. What is implied in drawing back & what will be the consequence of falling into this evil.[20]

Dr. Doak must have been interested in legal affairs. He sat on a large number of juries in the court held at Knoxville.[21] He even entered into legal matters of his own, for in June, 1796, he sued Nathaniel and John Davis for a debt that was about three years old. The amount asked was

. . . fifty three pounds, thirteen shillings and _____pence Virginia currency equal in value to one hundred and seventy eight Dollars Ninety Cents, and by the same Covenant in writing the said Nathaniel and John then and there farther covenanted to pay to the said Samuel the farther sum of

[17]Most authorities on the history of Tennessee in this period give the erroneous date of 1777 for the founding of the Salem Church. It was not formed until 1780. See *Assembly Minutes*, 131 (May 24, 1797). The date of 1777 is not reasonable because Doak was not licensed to preach until October 31, 1777. He did not go directly to Washington county, but preached some in Virginia and resided for a time in the Holston settlements.

[18]Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, I, 1795-1895 (President's Office, Washington College).

[19]Sprague, *op. cit.*, III, 393-94.

[20]Taken from a scrap of paper in Dr. Doak's own handwriting filed by the fly leaf of the Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Washington College, I, 1795-1895.

[21]Book of Records of Knox County 1793-1798 (Knox County Courthouse), *passim.*

Seventy Pounds in Horseflesh equal to two hundred and thirty three Dollars . . . . [22]

The record shows that the decision was in favor of Doak.

Doak was a member of juries involving civil suits for the most part, but there was one instance in which he was on a jury judging the case of a horse thief. The defendant was convicted and the records tell that:

Thomas Nelson was led to the Bar, and asked if he had anything to say why the sentence of the law should not be pronounced upon him, saith nothing. The sentence of the Law therefore is that he (Thomas Nelson) shall stand in the Pillory one Hour and shall be publicly whipped on his bare back with thirty nine lashes well laid on, at the same time shall have both his Ears nailed to the Pillory and cut off, and shall be branded on the right cheek with the letter H of the length of three quarters of an inch and the breadth of half an inch and on the left cheek with the letter T of the same dimensions as the letter H in a plain & visible manner, and that this sentence shall be put in execution tomorrow between the hours of twelve and two o'clock . . . . [23]

It is strange that a man so much interested in religion and education should have condoned the punishment then meted out.

In the decade following 1789 there was great progress made in church organization. New presbyteries were being added and old ones divided. Thus in 1797, on the 21st of November, the Synod of the Carolinas, meeting at Mount Bethel, near Greeneville,

. . . granted the petition of Abingdon Presbytery for division and Reverend Messrs. Charles Cummings, Samuel Doak, Jacob Lake, and James Balch were set off to compose Abingdon Presbytery, to meet at Salem. Reverend Messrs. Hezekiah Balch, John Cosson, Samuel Carrick, Robert Henderson and Gideon Blackburn to compose the Presbytery of Union . . . . [24]

Abingdon Presbytery, then, was to be divided by a line running from the North Carolina boundary north to the mouth of Big Limestone Creek and from there to the Kentucky line.[25] Two years later the line was changed to one that ran north by the mouth of Lick Creek.

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[22] *Ibid.*, 325.

[23] Minute Book, District of Hamilton Superior Court, 1793-1809, p. 78. This court was held in Knoxville. The writer was not able to procure the original book, but refers to a typewritten copy. The original is referred to as Book No. 3.

[24] Records of Union Presbytery, 1799-1810 (Maryville College, Maryville, Tennessee). This information was inserted at the first of the recopied records and was gathered by Presbytery in 1859. All the following references are to the records kept in the original handwriting of the members.

[25] J. E. Alexander, *The Synod of Tennessee* (Philadelphia, 1890), 2.

Hezekiah Balch and John Cosson were then again members of Abingdon Presbytery. In 1800, Balch was instrumental in forming a new presbytery, called the Presbytery of Greeneville. It consisted of Balch, John Cosson, George Newton, and Samuel Davies.[26] This presbytery was short-lived and was dissolved in 1804. Balch and Cosson then came into the Presbytery of Union.

Hezekiah Balch was a man for whom, on reading the account of his life, one must have the most profound sympathy mixed with admiration, because of the convictions that he sustained and the faith that carried him through the most severe trials. He was licensed by the Presbytery of New Castle between the meetings of Synod in 1768 and 1769. He married Hannah Lewis, a very fine person, who later in life was affected mentally.[27] He came to Tennessee and, in the Cherokee hunting grounds, established the First Presbyterian Church of Greeneville and later Greeneville College.

By 1804, with Hezekiah Balch back in the fold, Union Presbytery was at last settled. There had been five years of divisions and redivisions since the Presbytery began. On that day, Tuesday, December 10, 1799, at Eusebia Meeting House, the minutes show that

> In pursuance of the preceding order of Synod the Presbytery of Union met. Present the Reverend Messrs. Samuel Carrick, Robert Henderson, Gideon Blackburn, Samuel G. Ramsey with Messrs. Shaddan, Samuel McMurray, and Robert Gamble, Elders.[28]

This quartet, Henderson, Carrick, Blackburn, and Ramsey were Union Presbytery. Often there were a few elders present, but regardless, this quartet met, elected a moderator and clerk and carried on the procedure of the meeting as if there were hundreds in attendance. They passed motions and resolutions, held trials, and passed judgment on cases coming up in their constituences. It is not surprising that these four men could carry on so well until others were added to their number, for they were bold characters who had adapted themselves to frontier life.

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[26] *Ibid.*

[27] Journal of Dr. Charles Coffin (McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville), *passim.* This may have been caused by the troubles of her husband. Dr. Coffin indicates that she was greatly troubled by the difficulty in understanding Hopkinsianism.

[28] Records of Union Presbytery, 3-4 (December 10, 1799).

The first of these, Henderson, was a forceful preacher, popular with the hardened people of the frontier. His audience swayed back and forth, cringing under his scathing denunciations, then bursting into laughter at his wit. Yet he could move thousands by the pathos in his sermons.

He was licensed by Abingdon Presbytery in 1788 and was called to the churches of Westminster and Hopewell in present day Jefferson county, where he remained for about twenty years. During this time he trained Gideon Blackburn in the ministry and helped him take his place beside other pioneer preachers.

Blackburn had a good education and used it to advantage in his missionary work among the Indians and in his educational work among pioneers. He was licensed by Abingdon Presbytery in 1792 and came to his field in Blount county, at Fort Craig, the present site of Maryville. Near the fort he built a house, and not far from this a large log building for a church. This grew into New Providence Church. He carried on missionary work among the Cherokees, for whom he established two schools.

In person, Dr. Blackburn was six feet, one or two inches in height. He was lame because of a fracture of his thigh and a swelling in the same limb. His head was large, and he had black hair which, as he grew older, turned white. It hung almost to his shoulders, giving him a striking appearance.[29]

Samuel Carrick was another remarkable man of an unusual time. Grave, dignified, solemn, and taciturn, his contact with the people was never free. He was about five feet and eight inches tall, ". . . and inclined to corpulency . . . . His whole person was cast in the most symmetrical mould, he would everywhere be called handsome."[30]

The last of this quartet was Samuel Graham Ramsey, uncle of the historian, J. G. M. Ramsey. He was licensed in 1795 by the Presbytery of Lexington. For a short time he traveled in Virginia and preached. He came to Tennessee and began work with the aid of his brother, Colonel Francis Alexander Ramsey, who lived in Knox county. As in the case of other ministers,

[29]Sprague, *op. cit.*, IV, 43-47.

[30]J. G. M. Ramsey, *History of Lebanon Church* (Knoxville, 1918), 6.

he was received warmly. His sermons were simple, plain and persuasive.

He preached at Ebenezer and Pleasant Forest on alternate Sundays. Later he rode into Knoxville to preach in the courthouse every third Sunday. Out of his work the First Presbyterian Church was formed. He too was interested in education. About 1801 he started a classical school, Ebenezer Academy.

From the time of its organization to 1807 the Presbytery of Union was not on good terms with the Synod of the Carolinas. By 1807 Isaac Anderson, Charles Coffin, Matthew Donnell and Joseph B. Lapsley were members.[31] In 1810, after some misunderstanding the General Assembly granted Union Presbytery's request and made it a part of the Synod of Kentucky. This arrangement lasted for seven years. In 1816 the Synod of Kentucky wished to be divided. The committee to which the request was given reported on May 21, 1817, to the Assembly and the report was accepted:

> That agreeably to the request of the Synod of Kentucky, the Presbyteries of Union, Shiloh, West Tennessee, and Mississippi, be constituted a Synod, to be known and called by the name of the Synod of Tennessee; that they hold their first session at Nashville, on the first Wednesday of October next . . . .[32]

In the early days of the church it was not necessary for a congregation to have a building. People met in the open or at some home. There was a constant shortage of ministers from the very beginning of the church. In 1698, soon after the first Presbyterian churches in America were organized, there were letters going back to Scotland and Ireland for ministers to come over.[33] As the people moved down on the frontier, there were constantly groups of people desiring ministers. After Union Presbytery was organized they had continually to appoint members to supply congregations. The need was so great that they did not confine their services to Sunday but preached during the week.[34] Thus, Presbytery asked Ramsey to supply congregations that had sent in requests for supplies. People on Clinch River and above the mouth of Silver Creek and in Grassy Valley

[31] Alexander, *op. cit.*, 2.
[32] *Assembly Minutes*, 643-44 (May 21, 1817).
[33] *Record of the Presbertian Church in the U. S. A.*, 1706-1888 (Philadelphia, 1841), *passim*.
[34] Records of Union Presbytery, 20 (April 30, 1800).

requested ministers.[35] Although much time was consumed in traveling, they covered a surprising amount of territory.[36] They preached one Sunday to one congregation and sometimes it would be a month or more before they preached there again.

The traveling on horseback caused a great amount of physical hardship, and a minister's health was constantly in danger. The minutes of Union Presbytery give the account of Ramsey's battle with a disease, probably tuberculosis, that was aggravated by his long journeys:

> Presbytery finding that our brother Mr. Ramsey is in delicate and weakly state of health and that preaching in his present situation would be injurious to him we do recommend to Mr. Ramsey to be cautious in his exertions, until he feels his health more fully recovered . . . .[37]

The next year Ramsey was worse and was forced to give up, and his church was declared vacant. Four years later he was better, and was able to serve ten years before the ravages of disease again struck him down. An entry in the minutes records his death:

> Penetrated with sentiments of sincere affection and deep sorrow, presbytery have to notice in this place, that on the 6th of July 1817 the Revd Samuel G. Ramsey was removed by death from serving the cause of Christ in his Church and has left his seat vacant among us.[38]

One can see from these yellowed pages the pathetic testimony of a man who fought the wilderness and disease for religion.

The pay of the ministers was very low. The ministers were not paid in tobacco as in the Piedmont region where they could easily turn it into money. Money was very scarce. Only a little came in for horses and hogs sold in the North, and it promptly went out for axes, powder, and lead.[39] In the meeting of Presbytery at Pleasant Forest Meeting House in the fall of 1800, Ramsey was appointed treasurer of Presbytery and it was decided that each member attempt (the word shows that Presbytery was conscious of the difficulty) to raise an annual collection in his charge to defray the expenses of Presbytery.[40] The money for domestic use was largely coon skins and goose

[35]Ibid., 13 (April 29, 1800).
[36]Besides their travels in Tennessee they attended the meetings of Synod and the Assembly.
[37]Records of Union Presbytery, 38 (Oct. 29, 1800).
[38]*Ibid.*, 177-78 (Sept. 22, 1817).
[39]U. B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston, 1929), 82.
[40]Records of Union Presbytery, 40-41 (October 29, 1800).

feathers.[41] These men did not have the time to devote to trade that would supply these items, nor to raise crops as did members of their congregations. The need for money in the hands of Presbytery was brought about by the wish to send a printed letter to members of the different congregations.[42] They were handicapped by the expense and thus the collection idea was suggested. Just how unsuccessful it was is shown by this entry in the minutes:

> The members being interrogated on the subject of the annual contribution it was found that Messrs. Carrick and Henderson had not deposited any thing into the treasury but intend to attempt it by the next sessions and that Messrs. Blackburn and Ramsey had paid in each a dollar.[43]

The period, 1789-1800, was one of Presbyterian organization in East Tennessee as well as throughout the nation. The General Assembly, the supreme body in the Presbyterian hierarchy, Union Presbytery, and small congregations all came into being and grew. Under the direction of the quartet of Union Presbytery, Presbyterianism was carried into the mountains and secluded valleys of East Tennessee. The early growth of the church was hampered by lack of ministers. The high requirements necessary to become an ordained Presbyterian minister were, of course, a deterrent to many.

Near the close of this period of organization the church received a great impetus—the Great Revival. Under this new stimulation there was great agitation for the relaxation of the high requirements.

The Covenanters having the organization of the church under way turned to other activities and worked more intensively among the Indians. A greater emphasis was placed on education.

The Covenanters had brought a democratic church to the frontier although they, themselves, were the product of oppression. While some settlers in the New World soon forgot the intolerance they had suffered and were intolerant toward others, the Covenanters did not forget. A hierarchy was brought to America that was a system of representative bodies. It was entirely in accord with the philosophy of the Declaration of In-

[41] Phillips, *op. cit.*, 82.
[42] Records of Union Presbytery, 25 (May 19, 1800).
[43] *Ibid.*, 47-48 (March 18, 1801).

dependence. It fell in with the thoughts of those who abhorred a strong centralized form of government. It fitted in with the philosophy of the frontiersmen. Self-reliant men, who set up their own political institutions, accepted willingly the opportunity for a part in church government.

The Covenanters left Scotland and crossed the pirate-infested Irish Sea only to find persecution and intolerance in Ireland. After long and perilous voyages they landed in America to be received with unfriendliness. Still fast in their belief they came in wagons and on horseback over the wilderness roads to the hills and valleys of East Tennessee. Building their settlements along the banks of winding rivers they began their new civilization. Surely they found it good.

THE PRIVATE INTERESTS AND ACTIVITIES OF GEORGE WASHINGTON CAMPBELL

By Weymouth T. Jordan

George Washington Campbell was one of a group of well educated and scholarly men which included the political and social leaders in Tennessee during the first half of the nineteenth century. Like other members of the group which emigrated to the state before 1800,[1] he moved there for the purposes of establishing and conducting a law practice. Unlike some of the others, he practiced law and used his profession as a means of obtaining election to public office. By 1803 he had acquired a political reputation commanding the respect of voters in his adopted state, and for nearly two decades of the Jeffersonian period the people of East and Middle Tennessee maintained him in important political positions, first as representative in Congress and later as judge on the Tennessee Supreme Court and member of the United States Senate. Because of his activities and successes in promoting the interests of the West, he became one of the most important early spokesmen in his region.[2] Of equal significance, however, was his personal interest in the social advance of his section and state, this being demonstrated both by his consistent support of legislation which he believed would be beneficial to Tennessee and by his life as a private citizen. Publicly and privately, his activities were typical of many leaders in United States history who moved westward as the frontier advanced. Although he was never concerned actively with the problem of opening up new regions for settlement, he was twice pulled westward by that same force which attracted so many of his contemporaries. Each time, however, he went as a townsman rather than as a backwoodsman. For the greater part of his life he claimed either Knoxville or Nashville, Ten-

[1]For short sketches of the lives of typical leaders in early Tennessee history, see F. L. Owsley, "Joseph Anderson," Isaac J. Cox, "William Charles Cole Claiborne," P. M. Hamer, "William Cocke," Marguerite B. Hamer, "John Rhea," A. P. Whitaker, "John Sevier," C. S. Driver, "Daniel Smith," in Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.), *Dictionary of America Biography* (New York, 1928-1937), I, 267-68, IV, 115-16, 255-56; XV, 524-25, XVI, 602-04, XVII, 254-55, respectively.

[2]See Weymouth T. Jordan, "The Public Career of George Washington Campbell," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 10 (Knoxville, 1938), 3-18, for a summary of Campbell's political activities.

nessee, as his legal residence.[3] Aside from his political accomplishments, his important contribution was that of cooperating in the improvement of the economic and social conditions of Tennessee. His own rise to political and social prominence was accomplished, first, by acquiring a reputation as an excellent lawyer; second, by proving himself to be a deserving office-holder, and third, by amassing a personal fortune.

After graduating, in 1794, from the College of New Jersey (now Princeton University), Campbell continued his interests in education and in cultural pursuits. Before moving to Tennessee he taught school for several years in New Jersey. While living in Knoxville he became a trustee of the East Tennessee College, located in that city, and after moving to Nashville in 1810 he was named to the same position in connection with the University of Nashville.[4] Throughout his life he was particularly interested in history, geography, art, and music. He also spoke French.[5] Whether he was one of the Nashville intellectuals who induced various theatrical stock companies to begin making short stands in their city during the 1820's is not known, but it is probable that he was.[6] His wife, the former Harriet Stoddert, came from a prominent and cultured family in Maryland, and if he had no taste for the stage and music before his marriage in 1812,[7] he probably acquired one later. While serving as minister of the United States to Russia, from 1818 to 1820, he regularly attended stage performances held in St. Petersburg. Also, while in England, where he stopped on his return trip to the United States, he went to the opera every night.[8] After his retirement from public office in 1820, he continued as one of the leading citizens of Nashville, probably tak-

[3]Campbell was born in Scotland on February 8, 1769. His family moved to Mecklenburg county, North Carolina in 1770. He emigrated to Knoxville, Tennessee, either in 1797 or 1798. *Ibid.*

[4]*Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* August 17, 1808; *Nashville City and Business Directory,* 1860-1861, p. 16.

[5]G. W. Campbell, Diary During My Ministry to Russia, July 3, 1818—October 31, 1820 (in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee). Cited hereafter as Campbell's Diary. Several books, containing numerous marginal notes, owned by Campbell, are now in Mrs. Brown's possession. Among them are: de la Vega, *Histoire de la Conquete de la Floride;* William Robertson, *The History of the Reign of Charles V;* and John Pinkerton, *Modern Geography.*

[6]See F. Garvin Davenport, "Culture Versus Frontier in Tennessee, 1825-1850," *The Journal of Southern History,* V (February, 1939), 22, for reference to Nashville's early interest in drama. Three theatres were erected in the city between 1819 and 1826. *Ibid.*

[7]Family Bible of the L. M. Brown Family (in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown).

[8]Campbell's Diary contains many notations concerning attendance at the opera.

ing an active role in the social life of the town. During this, the latter part of his life, he showed much interest in horse-racing and cock-fighting, as was the case with many other men of the wealthier class.[9]

Throughout the greater part of his life, from his arrival in Tennessee until his death in 1848, Campbell carried on one of the most lucrative law practices in the state. From 1798 until 1803 he practiced almost continuously. From the latter date until 1822, however, he neglected his profession because of the pressure of public duties, although he did occasionally take a case.[10] In January, 1822, shortly after his return to Nashville from Russia, he re-opened a law office, notifying the public with the following advertisement: "The undersigned having determined to resume the practice of LAW, will attend the Courts of the United States, the Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals of this State, held in Nashville, where he resides; and also the latter court held in Columbia. G. W. Campbell."[11] It is of interest that in this notice Campbell intimated that he would practice only in the higher courts of the state. Very likely this meant that because of his earlier reputation as a lawyer, as well as his success in national politics, he expected his time to be fully occupied with major cases. Although no detailed study has been attempted of Campbell's activities as a lawyer, it may be assumed that the above two factors brought him many clients. It is known that he practiced law from 1822 until his death, and that at his death he was considered one of the leading lawyers in Tennessee.[12]

After his retirement from public life, Campbell took an active part in civic affairs in Nashville, and was present on many occasions of local importance. For example, on November 21, 1821, he officiated as president at a public dinner given in Nashville in honor of General Andrew Jackson. During the dinner he gave the following toast, which could be construed as a bid to some office: *"The true policy of nations;* few wars, free

[9]*The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette* (Nashville), March 15, 1811; *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* June 21, 1826.

[10]*The Impartial Review* (Nashville), June 6, 1807; Campbell to Le Roy de Chaumont, February 7, 1812, in Harriet Turner Deposit (Library of Congress).

[11]*The Nashville Whig,* January 23, 1822.

[12]Campbell Brown to Anson Nelson, February 22, 1882, in Tennessee Historical Manuscript Collection, Box B 2, No. 232 B (Archives of Tennessee Historical Society, Nashville). This letter contains the statement that Campbell never sought a political office during his life. For references to Campbell's activities as a lawyer, see *National Banner and Nashville Whig,* January 13, 1826; *The Daily Union* (Nashville), February 18, 1848.

trade, and a pure and prompt administration of justice."[13] If he happened to be hinting at his availability for a political position, however, he was doomed to disappointment. Again, on April 16, 1825, Jackson was feted by about one hundred persons from Middle Tennessee, and once more Campbell acted as president. As it happened, this dinner was probably the first public affair attended by Jackson in Nashville after his defeat for the presidency in 1824, and Campbell extended himself with the following toast to Jackson's famous victory at New Orleans: "The 8th of January 1815—Distinguished in the annals of fame, as that day on which the American Eagle took his boldest flight, while the Sons of Freedom, guided by the Hero of the West, triumphed over the champions of Tyranny."[14] That Campbell continued to be considered as a civic leader is indicated by the fact that he was again called on to preside at a Fourth of July celebration in 1831 at the Vauxhall Hotel. This time his toast was of particular significance, indicating a great change in attitude which had occurred since his tenure of office in the national House of Representatives many years before. His toast was: *"Agriculture, Commerce and Manufacturers — Hand maids* in the forward march of our national prosperity, let them receive equal encouragement from the public authorities, but no hot-beds at the public expense to force the premature growth of either."[15] In October, 1841, he again presided at a public dinner given in Nashville. This time it was in honor of ex-Governor James K. Polk, who had just been defeated in the Tennessee gubernatorial campaign by J. C. ("Slim Jimmy") Jones, the Whig candidate.[16]

In the same month that Campbell resumed his law practice in Nashville, Governor Joseph McMinn appointed him as first vice-president of the Bank of the State of Tennessee which had been established to provide relief from the economic distress brought on by the Panic of 1819. Campbell continued to serve in this capacity until 1831, when the bank went out of business.[17]

[13] *The Nashville Whig,* November 14, 1821.

[14] *Ibid.,* April 23, 1825.

[15] *Nashville Republican & State Gazette,* July 5, 1831. While in Congress, Campbell was consistent in his support of legislation beneficial especially to agriculturists. See Jordan, "The Public Career of George Washington Campbell," *loc. cit.*

[16] *The Nashville Union,* October 18-25, 1841. For an excellent account of this election and of its effects on Tennessee politics, see Powell Moore, "James K. Polk and Tennessee Politics, 1839-1841," and "James K. Polk and the 'Immortal Thirteen,'" East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications,* No. 9 (1937), 31-52, and No. 11 (1939), 20-33, respectively.

[17] The bank was located in Nashville, and had one branch in Knoxville. For a discussion of its establishment and work, see Joseph H. Parks, "Felix Grundy and the Depression of 1819 in Tennessee," *ibid.,* No. 10 (1938), 19-43.

Peculiarly enough, while connected with the bank, with his headquarters at Nashville, Campbell was one of the leaders of a movement to induce Nicolas Biddle, president of the United States Bank, to establish a branch of the federal institution in Nashville. On January 22, 1827, a petition signed by more than two hundred Nashvillians was addressed to Biddle, requesting that such a step be taken. Campbell's signature appeared at the top of the list, and his approval of the petition must have influenced Biddle's decision since the Tennessean was a former secretary of the treasury of the United States. Six months later the branch was established as requested; and in July, 1831, Campbell became one of its directors, at the same time retaining his connection with the Bank of the State of Tennessee until that institution collapsed.[18] He continued as an active director of the United States Bank until the summer of 1832, when he left Nashville for Washington, D. C., to begin his duties as a member of the French Spoliations Claims Commission, to which he was appointed by President Jackson.[19]

A few months before becoming a director of the Nashville branch of the United States Bank, Campbell had written to Jackson concerning the President's recent proposal to abolish the institution. Although Campbell had always been a member of the Jeffersonian or the Democratic party, at the time the letter was written he had become a supporter of the bank, despite Jackson's insistence that it be abandoned. The letter is quoted here at length in order to indicate Campbell's general attitude toward the question:

> In regard to the suggestions in the message [Jackson's message of December 6, 1830, to Congress] on the subject of a national Bank, or an institution to manage the Treasury concerns, I would take the liberty to remark, that the plan proposed as a substitute for the present United States Bank is a new one, not hitherto much investigated by the public; and whose merits it would be difficult to estimate without knowing the details. I would, however, venture to suggest for your consideration whether the measure ought to be pressed at the present in the face of the coming presidential election.
>
> I was not, myself, originally an advocate for the United States Bank-; and entertain strong doubts of its original constitutionality. But one hav-

[18] See Claude A. Campbell, "Branch Banking in Tennessee Prior to the Civil War," *ibid.*, No. 11 (1939), 34-46.

[19] *The Nashville Whig*, January 9, 1822, July 4, 1843; *Nashville Republican & State Gazette*, July 7, 1831; *National Banner & Nashville Daily Advertiser*, February 4, 1833. See Jordan, "The Public Career of George Washington Campbell," *loc. cit.*, for a discussion of Campbell's appointment to the commission and of the work accomplished by it.

ing been so long sanctioned by the public opinion of the nation, under the administration of the Republican, as well as federal party, I brought myself to vote for the present one, having become convinced, by some experience, while serving as Secretary of the Treasury that the pecuniary concerns of the nation could not be successfully managed without the aid of an institution, whose operations could be co-extensive with the limits of the union; and over which the general government had some control. I feel assured, Sir, you will consider these observations, as they are intended, as merely suggesting the views I entertain, after some reflection, on the subject, and submitted, from the best motives, for your own eye, & consideration alone . . . .[20]

This letter does not mean that Campbell was breaking with Jackson's party over the question of the bank. Although by the date of the letter, Campbell had become quite wealthy and was living in the city which was to become the stronghold of the Whig party in Tennessee, he allowed neither his wealth nor his support of the bank to affect his close connection with the Democratic party. While serving as secretary of the treasury during the War of 1812, he had seen what straits the United States government had fallen into during the interval between the dissolution of the First United States Bank and the establishment of the Second. It was probably for this reason primarily that he differed with his President on the question of the attack on the bank. It is of interest, too, that Jackson accepted Campbell's letter in the spirit in which it was written, merely as an expression of his personal opinion on a controversial question. That the President did not allow the difference of opinion on the subject to affect his friendship for Campbell is indicated by his appointment of Campbell to the French Spoliations Claims Commission little more than a year later. It seems, however, that while Campbell was in Washington, from 1832 through 1835, serving on the commission, he came around to Jackson's point of view on the bank question. At any rate, a few years later, when President Van Buren publicized his sub-treasury plan, Campbell became one of its leading advocates in Tennessee.[21] Although this is not conclusive evidence, it does indicate a change in his opinion toward the bank. Also, in January, 1840, he was appointed a director of the main bank of the Bank of Tennessee, located in Nashville. This bank had been established

[20]Campbell to Jackson, January 14, 1831, in Jackson Papers (Library of Congress).

[21]Campbell to Van Buren, December 25, 1837, in Martin Van Buren Papers (Library of Congress).

in 1838,[22] and Campbell continued to serve on its board until January, 1842, at which time he was removed by J. C. Jones, recently elected Whig governor of the state.[23] For the remainder of his life he took no active part in banking affairs in Nashville.

A most important phase of Campbell's life was his activities as a land owner. When he went from North Carolina to Tennessee he was part of an extensive exodus from the seaboard states to the frontier. After living in Knoxville for about thirteen years, he took part in another significant westward movement, this time from East to Middle Tennessee, and it is rather certain that after he had gained his holdings in the central section of the state he wished to establish himself nearby in order to look after his land interests.[24] He possessed the usual insatiable desire for land which was always prevalent in a frontier region, and which was especially manifested in Tennessee during its early stages of development. It seems that it was a part of Campbell's nature to strive for wealth, as well as political office, and since land was the chief form of wealth in Tennessee, as well as in the entire West, during the greater part of his life, his desire for land is easily understood. In gaining possession of his holdings he followed the common methods of his time: he bought numerous certificates for land which had been granted by the state of North Carolina to persons in return for military service either in the American Revolution or in Indian wars; he received land grants and particular pieces of property in payment of legal services rendered to his clients; and, in several cases, he made outright purchases, usually of land adjacent to that which he had acquired through the ownership of a military grant. His rise from a position of rather moderate means to one of wealth is tied up very definitely with his purchases and sales of land. At the same time, he must have

[22]For information on the banking situation in Tennessee during this period, see Claude A. Campbell, "Banking and Finance in Tennessee During the Depression of 1837," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (Knoxville, 1937), 19-30; and his "Branch Banking in Tennessee Prior to the Civil War," *loc. cit.*

[23]*The Republican Sentinel* (Nashville), January 28, 1840; *Republican Banner* (Nashville), January 31, 1842.

[24]Gordon Thomas Chappell, Land Speculation and Taxation in Tennessee (M. A. Thesis, Vanderbilt University, 1936), *passim*, contains a discussion of the importance of land in connection with the westward movement within Tennessee. Thomas Perkins Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), is based almost entirely upon the importance of land in the development of Tennessee from 1763 until 1861.

received large returns from his law practice; and it is possible that he gained some wealth through his marriage. But his dealings in land were most important.

While living in North Carolina he owned no property in his home county.[25] As far as can be ascertained, his activities as a land owner began in April, 1799, when one of his clients deeded him a small lot in Knoxville in payment for legal advice. From this beginning he was to develop into one of the largest private landowners of Tennessee. By September, 1800, he owned the entire block in which the original lot in Knoxville was located, and for the various lots purchased paid a total of $240.00.[26] It was on February 2, 1803, that Campbell concluded the purchase of his first extensive tract of land in Tennessee. On that day he paid $100 for half interest in a 5,000 acre tract located near Knoxville, beginning at the mouth of Turkey Creek, extending up the Clinch River to Hickory Creek, from that point to the Tennessee River, down that stream to a point parallel with the mouth of Turkey Creek, and back to the beginning point.[27] With the purchase of his part of this piece of land he began his activities as a land speculator. For the next six years, however, he spent most of his time in Washington as a member of the House of Representatives, and, as he later put it, his "landed interests suffered" during this period.[28] By the summer of 1808 he had sold only 173 acres of his original purchase of 2,500 acres. Therefore, in August, 1808, he gave the power of attorney to Patrick Campbell, the person from whom he had made his purchase, in the hope that sales could be speeded up.[29] In the next four years, two of which G. W. Campbell spent in Tennessee,[30] the entire tract between the Tennessee and Clinch rivers, except thirteen and one-half acres, was sold. In all, eighteen sales were made, and by April 11, 1812, Campbell had realized a pro-

[25]Mecklenburg County, North Carolina, Records, 1796-1799 (Office of County Clerk, Charlotte, North Carolina).

[26]Knox County, Tennessee, Records, I, Book G, 54, 141; Book N, 352 (Office of County Clerk, Knoxville). Cited hereafter as Knox County Records.

[27]*Ibid.*, Book L, 61, 62.

[28]Campbell to Joseph Anderson, April 22, 1815, in Secretary of the Treasury Files, Miscellaneous Correspondence, Received, 1800-1852 (Treasury Annex Building, Washington).

[29]Knox County Records, I, Book Q, 233, 234.

[30]In 1809, Campbell declined re-election as Tennessee's representative in Congress, and for a year and a half, beginning in November, 1809, was a member of the Tennessee Supreme Court of Errors and Appeals. For a brief discussion of this phase of Campbell's public career, see Jordan, "The Public Career of George Washington Campbell," *loc. cit.*

fit of $2,416.78, minus taxes, on his original investment of one hundred dollars.[31]

By June, 1807, Campbell had gained possession of his first piece of land in Middle Tennessee, at the time having purchased a North Carolina military grant which entitled him to 300 acres on the southern bank of the Cumberland River, near Carthage, in Smith county.[32] From the date of this purchase until his death all his land transactions, except those by which he sold his East Tennessee holdings, were confined to land located in the central and western parts of Tennessee. He transferred his activities from East to Middle and West Tennessee for a very definite reason, namely, the temporary settlement by the United States Congress in 1806 of an extended dispute between Tennessee, North Carolina, and the United States which had been going on for many years over the ownership of land located in the state. This dispute possibly had its beginning in 1783, when the North Carolina legislature established the so-called Military Reservation in what is now Middle Tennessee. At that time most of the territory which was to become the state of Tennessee was of course still a part of North Carolina. As provided by the act North Carolinians or others who possessed North Carolina military warrants given for service in the American Revolution were allowed to take up land within the Reservation.[33] Then, in 1789, when North Carolina became a member of the Union, it ceded outright its transmontane lands to the federal government, with the understanding that military warrants could continue to be satisfied within the Military District.[34] In 1796, Tennessee had been admitted as a state, and from that date until the congressional act of 1806, a three-cornered dispute between the federal government, North Carolina, and Tennessee raged over the ownership and control of land located in the state. As provided by the settlement of 1806, certain rights of each of the three disputants were recognized. First, the right of holders of North Carolina military warrants to take up land in the Military Reservation was acknowledged; second, the Congressional Reservation, consisting of what is at the present West Tennessee and the southwestern section of

[31]See Knox County Records, Books G, L, N, O, and Q, for the records of these sales.

[32]Jenkins Whiteside to Campbell, December 21, 1807, in Campbell Papers (Library of Congress).

[33]W. L. Saunders and Walter Clark (eds.), *The Colonial and State Records of North Carolina* (Raleigh, 1886-1914), XXIV, 482-85.

[34]*Ibid.*, XXV, 4-6; *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I, 108-10.

Middle Tennessee, was set aside for use by the federal government; and third, Tennessee was given authority to satisfy North Carolina claims. In addition, and of special importance in the immediate speculation in land and the settlement in Middle Tennessee which resulted, this so-called Compact of 1806 also provided, in keeping with the North Carolina Cession Act of 1789, that in case all military grants could not be satisfied within the original Military Reservation, land could be taken up elsewhere in the state outside of the Congressional Reservation being established by the Compact. It was provided specifically, however, that warrants could not be satisfied in that section of southeastern Tennessee which had been set aside for use by the Cherokee Indians in 1783 when the Military Reservation was first established. Finally, the Compact of 1806 also permitted speculators to obtain land titles through ownership of warrants purchased since they had been issued by the North Carolina government in 1783.[85]

Shortly after this settlement was made the question of Indian claims to land in Middle Tennessee was also partially settled, sufficiently to encourage speculators to become active in the region. The Cherokee Nation gave up its claims to much of its land in the central portion of the state. The stipulation was made, however, that no entries were to be made in the newly opened region until 1808.[86] As was to be expected, during the first six months of 1808, speculators and holders of claims rushed into the area. Among those who became active was Campbell, although he cannot be considered as a speculator on a large scale. It seems that he realized that here was an opportunity for him to gain possession of some good land, and like so many others he was not averse to taking advantage of the situation. Later events also indicate that at this time he was probably interested in setting up a plantation, and since much of the newly opened land was available to persons who possessed military warrants it is very likely that he purchased as many as he could afford.

On April 22, 1808, Campbell bought a warrant which gave him possession of 1,280 acres in Maury county, on the "North

[85] *Ibid.* Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 182-93, contains a discussion of the land problem and its solution in Tennessee at the time the act of 1806 was passed by Congress, as does Stanley John Folmsbee, *Sectionalism and Internal Improvements in Tennessee, 1796-1845* (*Special Studies in Tennessee History*, No. 1, Knoxville, 1939), 20-23.

[86] Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee*, 188.

Side of Duck River."[37] Two weeks later he purchased two more warrants. One was for 730 acres, located in Williamson county, "on the South Side of Elk River"; the other was for one thousand acres, "lying in Williamson County . . . on McCullock's Creek, a branch of Elk River."[38] In August, he obtained another warrant for 274 acres in the Elk River region.[39] During 1809 two more warrants were bought, one in June for 640 acres "on the west fork of Mulberry Creek, a north branch of Elk River"; and about two months later one which gave him 474½ acres, "lying in Rutherford and Bedford counties . . . on the waters of the westfork of Stones' river."[40] After making the above purchases, Campbell followed a practice which was common among land speculators, big and little, during his period. He advertised his newly acquired land for sale or for lease, in order to raise more money with which to buy additional grants. On November 12, 1809, he had the following advertisement published in the leading Nashville newspaper:

> The undersigned would lease in small tracts, for a term of years proportioned to the quantity of acres that each leasee engage to clear and put under good fence, 5,000 acres of land of the first quality, abounding with fine springs, lying on both sides of richland creek of Elk river, including the mouth of Robertson's creek—also other tracts of first rate land, well watered, lying on Norris' creek and Mulberry creek of Elk river—one tract on the west fork of Stone's River—and one on Duck river, with several other tracts, all well watered, and land of good quality—for terms apply to Capt. John Coffee, near Jefferson—to Vance Greer Esq. in Bedford County, who will give leases, etc., or to the undersigned, who will be at Nashville for some time, and who would also sell several of the above described tracts on good terms. G. W. Campbell.[41]

Campbell had little success in selling or renting his lands, but on January 4, 1810, he bought still another military warrant for an additional 640 acres adjoining his tract on Norris' Creek in Bedford county.[42]

In January, 1810, Campbell moved from Knoxville to Nashville, and shortly afterward began buying up lots in Nashville, on which he later constructed a mansion. On March 30, 1810,

[37] Tennessee Land Grants, September 4, 1807—March 3, 1846, Book A, 437 (Tennessee Land Office and Archives, Nashville).

[38] *Ibid.*, Book A, 258, 259.

[39] *Ibid.*, Book A, 274.

[40] *Ibid.*, May 2, 1809—January 29, 1810, Book B, 244, 577.

[41] *The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette*, January 19, 1810, contains the above advertisement and also the information that it was first printed on November 12, 1809.

[42] Tennessee Land Grants, Book C, 551.

John Overton, one of the wealthiest men in Middle Tennessee, gave him an option to one third of two lots on Cedar Knob,[43] where the present capitol of Tennessee is located. In July the sale was concluded, and for the property Overton was paid the sum of $400.[44] At the same time the purchase of Overton's lots was made, Campbell also bought parts of two other lots on the Knob from Roger B. Sappington, a Nashville merchant, paying $400 for them also.[45] No more purchases of lots on the Knob were made until December, 1812, when three were bought for the sum of $7,000.[46]

It seems that the advertisement which Campbell had published in November, 1809, resulted in few sales, for on October 13, 1810, he again advertised nearly all of the same tracts for sale or rent.[47] Within a short time after publishing this second advertisement, he entered into a new enterprise, that of establishing a plantation on his land in the Elk River region. He did not plan, however, to live on the soil, his wish being to find some responsible person to act as his manager. He was unable to locate a suitable person, and during the summer of 1811 he decided on another plan, that is, to form a partnership with some one who could aid him materially in improving his holdings. In December, 1811, he wrote to an old frend, Major P. H. Porter, of Knoxville, outlining his plans. Since the suggestions in the letter were carried out, and since it contains a rather full descriptio of improvements which were probably later made on the Elk River property, the letter is quoted at length:

I have intended for some time to engage some person to carry on business for me on the plan I shall herein propose, or some other plan similar to it - . . . . I own several valuable tracts of land of good quality on the waters of Elk river—and particularly one tract of 5,000 acres on Richland creek of Elk river [in Giles county]—first rate land & well watered—heavy cane land & hills & grassy range in its neighborhood—a number of persons have taken tracts upon it, but I have reserved a very fine, large favourite Spring, in a healthy situation, at which I propose to have a settlement made & a farm opened on a tolerably extensive scale—To have from ten to 20

[43]This option is in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee.

[44]Register, Davidson County, Tennessee, July 26, 1810—February 25, 1813, I, 3 (Office of County Clerk, Nashville). Cited hereafter as Davidson County Records.

[45]*Ibid.*, I, 4.

[46]*Ibid.*, I, 380-81. All of these lots on the Knob were located between Gay and Cedar streets. There is a local tradition in Nashville that the price once paid for the property on which the capitol is located consisted of a gun and a cow. If such a a deal were made for the property, Campbell was not involved in it.

[47]*The Democratic Clarion and Tennessee Gazette,* October 26, 1810, indicates that this advertisement was first published on October 13, 1810. The advertisement may be found also in *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* November 17, 1810.

hands according to circumstances employed therein, first opening & then cultivating a farm—raising such crops besides grain—probably cotton—hemp & tobacco as might suit the market—In the meantime to have such a stock of *horses, cattle, hogs,* etc kept on the place, & raised as might be found most convenient & profitable—To which might be added—a distillery—as I have engaged a person to erect a grist mill, within a little more than a mile from the place, down the same creek—which is finished & grinding before this time—That the surpluses of such farm should be sold at the best market.[48]

This letter indicates several important points. By 1811, Middle Tennessee was becoming a grain producing region. With the production of grain crops as the main objective on his farm, Campbell planned later to extend his activities to the production of other profitable commodities. It will be noted, too, that his primary interest seems to have been that of operating his place on a profitable basis. He was not interested in directing the actual work himself, but wished that to be done by his partner. He owned a few slaves, but hoped that Porter would furnish additional ones in return for the partnership which was being offered him.[49] Porter was to act as superintendent of the farm, and if he thought it necessary was to engage an overseer to help him. He and Campbell were to divide the profits from the sale of the products of the farm in proportion to the investment each made in it. Concluding his letter, Campbell wrote:

Should the plan meet with your approbation & be likely to succeed, my intention is to purchase such a number of hands in addition to those I now have [the number is unknown] as might be deemed advisable, so soon as property can be disposed of for that purpose—I might require your aid & attention to effect this also—I had supposed that during the ensuing summer or fall the business might be commenced—this would however, depend on circumstances, but the sooner the better . . . .[50]

Although it is not known whether Porter accepted Campbell's plan for the establishment of a farm in Giles county, it is known that by the summer of 1814 the property there had increased in value to about $25,000.[51] This may mean that his plans were carried out. In 1844, when he drew up his will, he described the farm in detail, and from that description it seems that most of his plans had materialized.[52] An advertisement

[48]Campbell to Porter, December 11, 1811, Harriet Turner Deposit.

[49]*Ibid.* In July, 1810, a slave owned by Campbell named Harry, who was "a tall, slim made fellow," ran away. A reward of ten dollars was offered for his return. *Wilson's Knoxville Gazette,* July 28, 1810. The slave was probably a body servant.

[50]Campbell to Porter, December 11, 1811, Turner Deposit.

[51]Campbell to ?, July 2, 1814, Campbell Papers.

[52]See Will Book, Davidson County, 1846-1851, p. 209-213 (Office of County Clerk, Nashville), for Campbell's will.

which he had published in June, 1817, for the sale of certain tracts of his land may also be taken as a probable indication that he was satisfied with the progress which had been made on his Giles county place. The advertisement does not mention his plantation:

> The undersigned will sell 860 acres in Bedford County, on the headwaters of Sinking and Sugar creeks, about 6 or 7 miles from Shelbyville—well watered, and a considerable part of which is first rate land—1280 acres adjoining Gordon's ferry, tract on Duck River—300 acres on Robinson's creek, Lincoln county—also 474½ acres in Rutherford county, on the west fork of Stone's river— . . . . G. W. Campbell.[53]

When Campbell left the United States in 1818 to go to Russia as American minister, he placed his Giles county farm in the hands of Alexander Esselman, whose brother, John N. Esselman, had married Campbell's sister Ann.[54] The extent to which his interests had grown by this date may be partially reflected by the following power of attorney which he granted to John McIver, a lawyer of Fairfax county, Virginia, during his absence. According to Campbell's instructions, McIver was " . . . to transact and conduct my business in the Nashville Bank and in the Branch Bank of the State of Tennessee at Nashville and to rent or lease out from year to year or for a longer term, my Houses, Lots and Land in and near Nashville and to hire or caused to be hired and taken care of, my slaves left there . . . . "[55] It seems that his business affairs were handled well while he was in Russia. On his return to Nashville he began buying more land in Middle and West Tennessee in the old Congressional Reservation, which had been opened by an act of Congress, on March 26, 1818, to holders of North Carolina military warrants which were still unsatisfied.

Campbell himself, while serving in the United States Senate between 1815 and 1818, had been responsible for the passage of the congressional measure under which he now made some of his purchases.[56] Only conjectures can be made of the amount of land he would have bought had he been in Tennessee shortly

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[53] *The Clarion and Tennessee Gazette* (Nashville), July 15, 1817, contains the above advertisement and also the statement that it was first printed in June, 1817. On September 8, 1817, Campbell bought a military warrant for 640 acres, "lying in Humpreys [*sic*] County . . . on the east side of Buffalow river in the Hurricane bottom." Tennessee Land Grants, September 4, 1807—March 3, 1848, Book N, 350.

[54] Family Bible of the L. M. Brown Family; *The Nashville Whig*, December 25, 1822.

[55] Davidson County Records, Book H, 340-41.

[56] *The Clarion and Tennessee Gazette*, May 5, 26, 1818.

after the Reservation was opened. If he had put through the congressional measure for personal benefits he would have rushed into the newly opened region like other speculators. As it was, he left the country shortly after the bill was passed, and his next purchases of land in western Tennessee were made on June 22, 1822.[57] There seems little likelihood that in pushing his bill through Congress he had followed the more than common practice of certain legislators of his period when they sponsored land legislation from which they hoped to benefit. His land bill had been drawn up on the demand of the people of Tennessee, particularly Middle Tennesseans who wished to gain access to the region between the Tennessee and Mississippi rivers. In taking advantage of the provisions of the bill after its passage he was no better and no worse than hundreds of others who did the same thing. That he had an ulterior motive in supporting the congressional bill seems unlikely. It is more probable that he was merely eager to support legislation which was beneficial to his constituents. Morever, he always had a reputation for personal honesty. A letter he wrote to Jackson about two years after the passage of his land bill is of interest in this respect. The subject referred to in the letter is unknown, but even so the letter seems to be worthy of note:

> I felt confident, Sir, you would not mistake my motive in declining to engage at a stipulated price as agent to procure the passage of a law, on which it might become my duty to vote—and certainly I did not misconceive yours [a letter of Jackson's] in applying to me on the subject.—I trust we shall be disposed to duly appreciate the motives of each other; notwithstanding there may be shades of differences in the opinions we entertain on the same subject— . . . .[58]

During the 1820's Campbell continued to buy tracts of land in Middle and West Tennessee. In June, 1822, he obtained two grants issued by the West Tennessee Land Commissioners, who now had charge of the issuance of grants in the sections in which he was interested. One grant gave him possession of 1,240 acres "in Stewart County on the waters of the north fork of Forked Deer river"; by the other he gained 640 acres, on each side of Lost Creek, in Perry county.[59] In July he bought another military warrant for 2,500 acres, "lying . . . in Stewart County on the north side of Obion river on Richland creek . . .."[60] Three

[57]Tennessee Land Grants, Book T, 620.
[58]Campbell to Jackson, February 18, 1819 (copy in possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee).
[59]Tennessee Land Grants, Book T, 620, 823.
[60]*Ibid.*, Book T, 471.

months later he bought forty acres near the first tract purchased in Perry county.[61] After making these purchases, he once again fell back on the practice of offering his newly acquired lands for sale, and in December, 1822, offered to sell all his land, except his Giles county plantation, on what he described as "accomadating terms."[62] No records are available of any sales which were made, but he acquired funds either in this manner or some other, for by the year 1829 he owned large tracts in Henry, Gibson, Weakley, and Shelby counties.[63] Possession of all his tracts made him one of the largest land owners in the state.

Campbell's personal financial affairs were by no means confined to the purchase and sale of land. As early as February, 1815, he was the owner of forty-eight shares of stock at $100 each of a bank operating in Nashville.[64] Shortly after his marriage he had taken out twenty shares in the Washington Fontine Company, a bridge construction company whose headquarters were in the capital city. At the same time he also bought a few shares in another Washington bridge construction concern, the Anacostia Bridge Company.[65] In the late 1830's he bought stock in the two leading hotels in Nashville, the Washington and the City.[66] Morever, during the latter part of his life he became interested in a number of turnpike companies whose offices were located in Nashville, and bought large amounts of stock in several of them. His largest single purchase of turnpike stock was made on October 13, 1837, when he bought four hundred and thirty-two shares at twenty-five dollars each in the Franklin Turnpike Company.[67]

[61] *Ibid.*, Book U, 341.

[62] *The Nashville Whig*, December 25, 1822.

[63] *National Banner & Nashville Whig*, September 29, 1829.

[64] Thomas Corry to Campbell, February 4, 1815, Campbell Papers.

[65] Campbell to Robert P. Dunlop, May 31, 1825, in Dunlop Papers (Library of Congress).

[66] The following letter, written by the editor of the *Knoxville Post*, appeared in *The Nashville Whig*, October 26, 1843: "Speaking of the Hotels, I must not omit to mention, for the especial benefit of persons coming to Nashville, that the City Hotel, is one of the best, if not the very best public house in the Western country. It is a large and commodious building, situated on the Square, . . . and immediately in the center of business . . . . The rear of the building commands a fine view of the Cumberland, which flows almost beneath it. Every delicacy that an abundant market affords, graces the table, and all the reasonable wants of the guests are anticipated and amply applied for."

[67] A receipt for the purchase of this stock is in the possession of Mrs. Susan M. Brown, Spring Hill, Tennessee.

On December 11, 1843, was concluded what was probably the most profitable single sale of land which Campbell made during his life, namely, the sale to the city of Nashville of the plot of ground on which his home was located. It will be remembered that shortly after moving to Nashville from Knoxville, he had bought several lots on Cedar Knob on which he planned to construct a home. By 1820, he controlled nearly all the lots on the Knob and it had become known as "Campbell's Hill."[68] A mansion had been built on the "Hill," and Campbell's residence was there until 1843 when he sold four of his lots to Nashville.[69] The city of Nashville was particularly interested at the time in obtaining possession of a suitable location for the construction of a capitol building, and in choosing a site preferred Campbell's. Civic leaders in the city were anxious to present a site to the state of Tennessee on which the state could construct a capitol, and had made such a promise when Nashville was selected as the permanent capital in 1843.[70] "Campbell's Hill" was considered such an ideal spot for the building that the city of Nashville paid him $30,000, in three annual installments of $10,000 each,[71] for four lots on the "Hill." The lots were "Bounded on the North by an alley on the East by High Street on the South by Cedar Street and on the West by Vine Street . . . containing by estimation four acres more or less . . . ."[72]

On May 11, 1844, Campbell, being at that time seventy-five years of age, drew up his will. Provisions of the will show very definitely that his interests were widely scattered, and that he had indeed become a wealthy man. According to it he had begun the construction of a new home after selling his place on the "Hill." When completed it was to be the property of his wife as long as she lived. Other than the home, his wife was to receive the following: $10,800 worth of stock in the Franklin

[68] *The Nashville Whig,* September 26, 1820.

[69] Davidson County Records, VI, 622.

[70] The original capital of Tennessee was Knoxville; in 1812 it was moved to Nashville, where it remained until 1817 when it was returned to Knoxville; from 1819 until 1825 it was at Murfreesboro, and at the later date returned to Nashville. In the fall of 1843, Nashville was selected as the permanent capital. Abernethy, *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee,* 226.

[71] The annual payments were made as agreed upon. Will Book, Davidson County, 1846-1851, p. 265-67, contains an inventory of Campbell's property at his death. According to the inventory the payments had been made.

[72] The numbers of the lots were 108, 109, 120, and 121. Campbell bought lots 108, 109, and 121 on December 8, 1812, paying $7,000 for them. There is no available record of his purchase of lot 120. It is probable, however, that he paid about $600 for it, since that was the usual price paid for single lots on the knob. Davidson County Records, I, 3, 4, 380, 381; VI, 622.

Turnpike Company; $1,250 in stock in the Franklin and Columbia Turnpike Company; $500 in the Nashville and Charlotte Turnpike Company; and, $11,003 in stock in the City Hotel Company. The will directed that the dividends from these stocks were to be used by his widow to keep his family "in a manner suitable to their situation & standing in society." She was also to assume charge of the "slaves at the mansion, coachman & footman and other servants."[73] At her death she was to divide what goods she possessed equally between her two children.[74]

To his only living son, George, Campbell willed the following: his plantation in Giles county, consisting of 5,000 acres, and all the slaves, horses, mules, cattle, hogs, sheep, and farming implements on it. From this list of articles mentioned in the will it seems that Campbell's plan of 1811 to have "a farm opened on a tolerably extensive scale" at his Giles county property had materialized. At his mother's death George was to receive the Nashville "mansion"; 2,500 acres of land in Obion county, valued at $20,000; a tract of 1,851 acres in Haywood county, valued at $5,000; one lot on Vine street, Nashville, worth $2,500; and five acres of land, near Nashville, on the Nashville and Charlotte Turnpike, valued at $1,500.[75]

To his daughter, Lyzinka, the widow of a former Nashvillian, James P. Brown, Campbell left a tract of 3,000 acres in Maury and Williamson counties, near the present town of Spring Hill, valued at $40,000;[76] a farm of 144 acres in Maury county, worth $2,000; another tract of 1,841 acres in Dyer county, near Dyersburg, estimated at $5,000; and two lots in Nashville, one on Gay Street and the other on College Street, valued at a total of $2,000. A gift of 640 acres in Lincoln county, estimated at $10,000, which Campbell had made to his daughter before her marriage, and 193 acres presented to her

[73]Although the number of slaves which Campbell owned in 1844 is unknown, he did own as many as twenty during his lifetime. Campbell's Diary, July 7, 1820; Davidson County Records, Book T, 79; III, 185; IV, 460; VI, 45, 160; VII, 432; VIII 109. His correspondence and papers at no point indicate that he ever took an active part, privately or publicly, in the controversy over slavery which raged during his lifetime.

[74]Will Book, Davidson County, 1846-1851, p. 209-213, contains Campbell's will. When Campbell went to Russia as American minister, he had three children. One was born while he was in Russia. Three died in one week in 1819, in St. Petersburg, of typhus fever. Two more were born later. One died between 1820 and 1844. Family Bible of the L. M. Brown Family; Campbell's Diary March 30 - April 19, 1819.

[75]*Ibid.* These estimations are Campbell's.

[76]Part of this tract is still in the possession of the Brown family, which today lives in Spring Hill, Tennessee.

after her marriage were confirmed by the will. Finally, Campbell also confirmed a gift of a slave named Tilla which he had made to his sister, Ann Esselman. She was also to receive sixty acres of land near the Giles county plantation, and until her death was to be provided by the estate with an annual sum of $200.

No material concerning Campbell's activities during the last few years of his life has been located. But it may be supposed that during his last years, as during the other years of his residence in Nashville, he continued to be one of the most respected persons in the city and in the state. On February 17, 1848, he died at the advanced age of seventy-nine.[77] Few people ever got more out of their physical frame. He had enjoyed a full life, getting much from the cultural attributes of his age—of which there were many in his frontier and quasi-frontier homes. He had participated in two great westward movements, from western North Carolina to East Tennessee and from the latter region to Middle Tennessee. In public life he acquired an outstanding reputation, and was the first Westerner to rise above an ordinary position in national politics. In private life, using the profession of law, his public reputation, his education and culture, his wide travels, and his wealth in making successive steps upward, he rose from the obscure position of a member of a typical backwoods family of North Carolina to that of first-rate importance in the state of his adoption.

[77] *Tri-Weekly Nashville Union*, February 19, 1848.

THE ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN EAST TENNESSEE

By VERTON M. QUEENER

No candidate running on a Republican party ticket had ever received a vote in Tennessee when the Civil War came. To most Tennesseans, the party was sectional, "kinky-haired," and anathema; a minority was not so completely hostile.[1] Whatever the parties, bitter controversy was the general rule and any upheaval great or small would cause some readjustment of party affiliation. In 1861 came the great upheaval out of which a new order was to appear.

Between the years 1861 and 1867, there came war, conquest, military government, and the absence of free elections. During these years, there were no parties in Tennessee if the proper definition of a political party is an "organization of voters based on self-interest and bent on getting control of the government."[2] Both of the old pre-war parties had broken into pieces before the war began. The Whig party had disintegrated in the 1850's; the Democratic party was not so sure of itself after the presidential election of 1860.[3] In Tennessee, however, Governor Isham G. Harris had a majority following except in the first secession election. As civil government began to re-appear on the Tennessee horizon about 1864, groups of men of like interest began to organize. One of these organizations developed into the Republican party of Tennessee. A study of this party is by and large a study of East Tennessee because from this section of the state came the Republican office-holders, the Republican leaders, and by far the larger portion of the Republican voters.

In Tennessee's gubernatorial campaign of 1867, there appeared for the first time after the Civil War two rather definite and cohesive political parties: one called the Republican Union

[1]Philip M. Hamer (ed), *Tennessee A History* 1673-1932 (New York, 1933), I, 505-19.

[2]M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Organization of Political Parties*, translated by Frederick Clarke (New York, 1908), II, 652; William Bennet Munro, *The Government of the United States* (New York, 1936), 140.

[3]Marguerite B. Hamer, "The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee," East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 3 (Knoxville, 1931), 22.

party, and the other called the Conservative Union party.[4] These two parties—with changes in names, leaders, followers, and sometimes in principles—constitute our present Republican and Democratic parties.

The Republican party of East Tennessee, which is the theme of this paper, did not appear suddenly on February 22, 1867,[5] when the Radicals or Republican Unionists met in convention and nominated William G. Brownlow for a second term as governor. Back of 1867, there is a great deal of related, interesting, and instructive political history. By noting the pre-war elements out of which the new parties were to grow, some political maneuvering during the war, and numerous political events which occurred between the cessation of hostilities in Tennessee and the August election of 1867, one is able to watch the Republican party come into being and develop from an embryonic stage to a stage where it took over all branches of the state government.

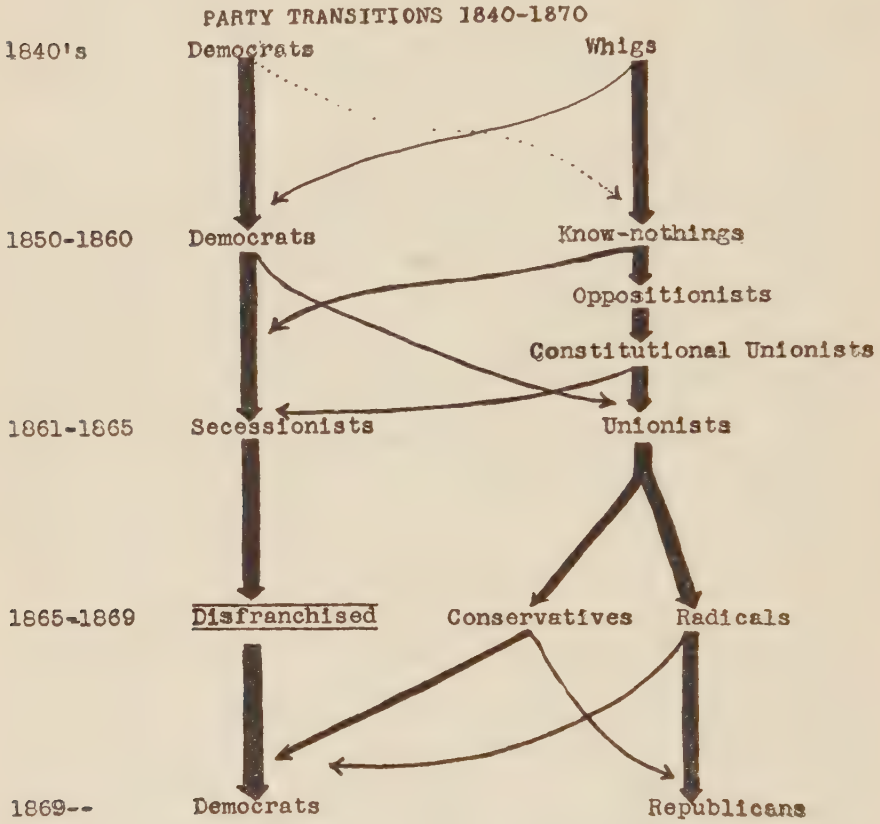
From the time when the two parties were functioning normally before the war, to the time when they could re-assume normal activity after the war, there occurred a lapse of two decades. In these transitional decades the parties went through several stages of re-adjustment and re-alignment. These changes are crudely represented by the chart on the following page. As the chart shows, a few pre-war Democrats became Republicans, while some Whigs became Secessionists and some who remained Unionists became Democrats when the new parties were getting under way during and after Reconstruction.

Professor A. C. Cole has said that "The Whigs of the South were the Unionists, Unionism being a brand of Conservatism." But when the last effort at compromise had failed and the "irrepressible conflict" was on, the Whigs "acquiesced in the situation and gave themselves and their sons to fight the battles of the South in defense of southern rights and southern independence."[6] Such a statement about the

[4]*Brownlow's Knoxville Whig and Rebel Ventilator,* February 7, 1867 (hereafter referred to as *Whig*); Hamer, *op. cit.,* II, 620, 621.

[5]This date is taken as the beginning of the Republican party because on that date the Republican Unionists (Radicals) held a state convention in Nashville and nominated Brownlow for a second term as governor. The opposition (Conservatives) in April of 1867, nominated Emerson Etheridge as candidate for governor. Hence, the first state-wide bi-party contest after the war had its inception with the Republican convention of February 22, 1867.

[6]A. C. Cole, *The Whig Party in the South* (Washington, 1913), 333.



greater part of the South cannot be questioned but it is almost the opposite of the truth about East Tennessee. In East Tennessee, most of the old-line Whigs and many Democrats did not change to the secession side as the pressure and excitement increased but instead became even more intensely Unionist.

The most obvious pre-war and post-war relationship is that the East Tennessee territory which was Whig territory in the 1840's was Republican territory after the 1870's. This fact deserves at least brief consideration. The Whigs carried East Tennessee in every election between the years 1847 and 1855. In the year 1856, the Know-nothing party carried the section. In 1857, the Democrats won by the small majority of 686 votes. The next election, 1859, the old-line Whigs, now calling themselves the Oppositionists, won. In 1860, the Constitutional

Union party had a majority in East Tennessee of 1,767 votes over the two Democratic candidates combined.[7] Hence, it must have been fairly easy for Whigs who later became Know-nothings, then Oppositionists, and finally Constitutional Unionists to become Republican Unionists during and after the war.

In an analysis of the Whig vote in East Tennessee by counties for the years 1847, 1848, and 1849, it is found that twelve counties consistently had a Whig majority for all three election years.[8] Four counties, Hamilton, Meigs, McMinn, and Morgan, voted Democratic in the first election but turned to the Whig party in the last two elections; while two counties, Campbell and Polk, voted Whig in the first two elections and Democratic in the last one. Six counties were consistently Democratic for these three election years;[9] while two counties, Hawkins and Monroe, voted Democratic in 1847, Whig in 1848, and were carried by the Democrats again in 1849.

A comparison between the elections of 1847, 1848, and 1849, and the elections of 1872, 1882, and 1886,[10] throws light on the transition. All of the twelve counties that voted Whig consistently in the election years of the 1840's voted Republican in the three later election years. Of the six Democratic counties in the earlier elections, only one, Sullivan, remained consistently Democratic in the later elections. Three counties, Bradley, Claiborne, and Greene, which were Democratic throughout the earlier elections, were consistently Republican in the '70's and '80's. In addition to these, four more counties that had vacillated between Whig and Democratic majorities in the '40's were consistently Republican in the later elections. Rhea county, which was Democratic in all of the earlier elections, voted Republican in the year 1886. Washington, another Democratic county in the three earlier elections, was Republican in 1872 and in 1886, but voted Democratic in 1882. Of the eight new counties created in East Tennessee after 1850, all except Sequatchie were Republican in the years 1872, 1882, and 1886. Thus it may be seen that the Whig counties in the 1840's,

[7]Jonesborough *Whig and Independent Journal,* November 22, 1848; Nashville *Republican Banner,* November 20, 1848, November 16, 1852, November 6, and 25, 1860; Knoxville *Whig,* August 18, 1848, November 8, 1856, September 3, 1859.

[8]Anderson, Bledsoe, Blount, Cocke, Carter, Grainger, Jefferson, Johnson, Knox, Marion, Roane, and Sevier.

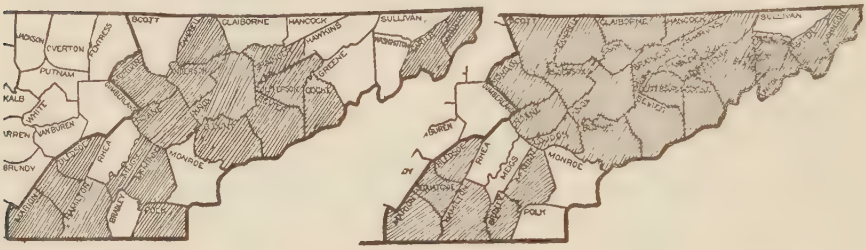
[9]Claiborne, Greene, Rhea, Sullivan, Bradley, and Washington.

[10]These years were picked because they were as nearly as possible normal election years. There were no party schisms or race questions at issue.

including those leaning in the Whig direction, were almost unanimously Republican after the war. In addition, five pre-war Democratic counties had joined the Republican ranks, while only three pre-war Whig counties, and they doubtful ones, Polk, Monroe and Meigs, became Democratic counties after the war.[10]

PRE-WAR AND POST-WAR ELECTIONS IN EAST TENNESSEE

1847, 1848, and 1849 **1872, 1882, and 1886**



Counties that were Whig or leaned toward the Whig party

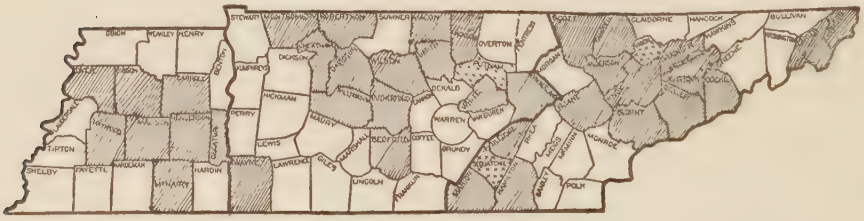
Counties that were Republican or leaned toward the Republican party

Counties that were Democratic or leaned toward the Democratic party.

Counties that were Democratic or leaned toward the Democratic party.

This change to post-war Democratic and Republican parties was not a strict party affair in East Tennessee. Neither was the change as simple as the material thus far considered would indicate. Part of the complications may be seen by a

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1860 BY COUNTIES



Constitutional Union or Old-line Whig counties

Democratic Counties

Counties not reported

The Whigs carried East and West Tennessee; the Democrats carried Middle Tennessee. In this election Cumberland county voted with Bledsoe and Cheatham voted with Davidson and Montgomery.

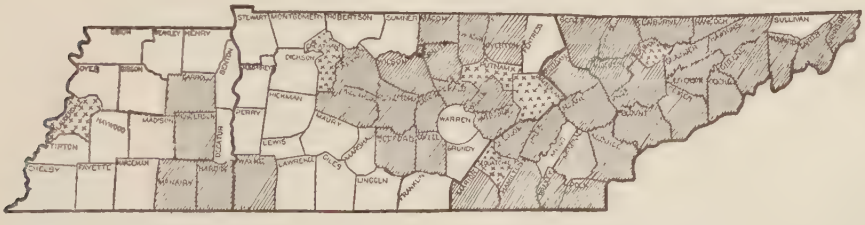
[11]The figures for the four paragraphs of comparison and for the maps were taken from the following papers: Jonesborough *Whig and Independent Journal*, November 22, 1848; Nashville *Republican Banner*, November 20, 1848, November 16, 1852, November 6, and 25, 1860; Knoxville *Whig*, August 18, 1848, November 8, 1856, September 3, 1859. Figures for the later elections came from the Election Returns, Secretary of State's Office, Nashville.

study of the line-up of the pre-war Whigs and Democrats on some intermediary steps, the most important being that of secession. A drift toward secession became effective in Tennessee shortly after the presidential election of 1860.

This secession drift did not reach East Tennessee with sufficient force to change a majority of the East Tennesseans. Nor do old political party sentiment or ties account for the change or lack of change on the part of voters.

West Tennessee changed from a Whig majority in 1860 to better than a three to one majority for calling a convention to consider secession in the February election of 1861. The drift toward secession had become pronounced in West Tennessee before the first vote on the question of seceding. In Middle Tennessee, it was different. In this section, the people voted by a majority of nearly two thousand for the two Democratic presidential candidates in 1860; while in February following, Middle Tennessee voted more than a thousand majority against holding a convention on secession. The drift toward secession affected this section between the February and June elections of 1861. In East Tennessee, where the old-line Whigs had usually about a 2,500 majority, the voters turned down the secession movement by a majority of four and a half to one in February, 1861.

VOTE ON SEPARATION IN FEBRUARY 1861



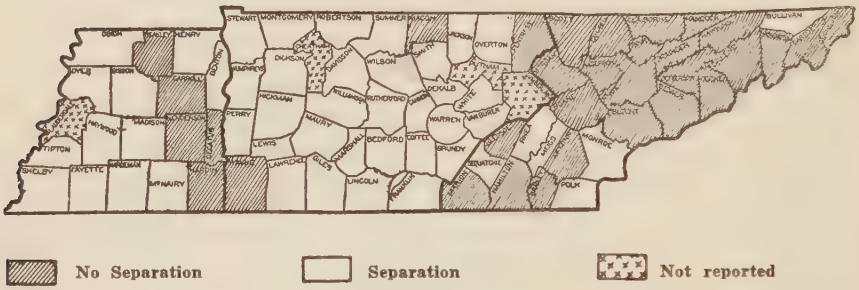
No Convention Convention Not reported

The purpose of the convention was to be a consideration of separation. However, the issue was not a clear cut one, for some Unionists voted for a convention and for Union delegates to the convention while other Unionists voted against a convention and for Union delegates.

The drift of sentiment toward secession continued, however, and in the June election on the actual issue of separation, West Tennessee voted almost five to one in favor of withdrawing from the Union. Middle Tennessee experienced an almost unbelievable transformation, changing from a majority

against holding a convention to a majority of almost seven to one for separation. While East Tennessee had felt the drift toward secession by June, 1861, this section still had a majority of about two and a fourth to one against separation.[12]

VOTE ON SEPARATION IN JUNE 1861



Turning to East Tennessee for a more detailed study of the drift toward secession, one finds that the movement in this end of the state was noticeable but not strong. In fact, the majority in only three counties shifted from pro-Union to secession. Since the drift toward secession was too slight to change majorities, it cannot be shown by map coloring, but may be seen by a study of the graphs on page 74. The lower graph shows a considerable increase in the sentiment for secession when compared with the upper graph.[13]

As to the composition of the war parties in East Tennessee, one cannot be sure of the exact number of Democrats who voted the Unionist ticket in 1861 nor can one be any surer of the number of Whigs who voted the Secessionist ticket in 1861. The lower of the two graphs cited above shows that Greene county, for example, had a Democratic vote in 1860 of almost 2,500, but the secession vote in that county was only about 750 or slightly less than one third the Democratic strength. On the other hand, the Union vote in Greene county in June, 1861 was approximately two and a half times the normal Whig strength. This Greene county shift was due largely to the leadership of Andrew Johnson, and the extent of the shift was not equalled in any

[12]These comparisons and maps are based on a study of election returns as found in the Nashville *Republican Banner,* December 4, 1860; Nashville *Union and American,* December 4, 1860, March 3, 1861, and June 25, 1861.

[13]Election returns taken from the Nashville *Union and American,* December 4, 1860, March 3, and June 25, 1861; Nashville *Republican Banner,* December 4, 1860.

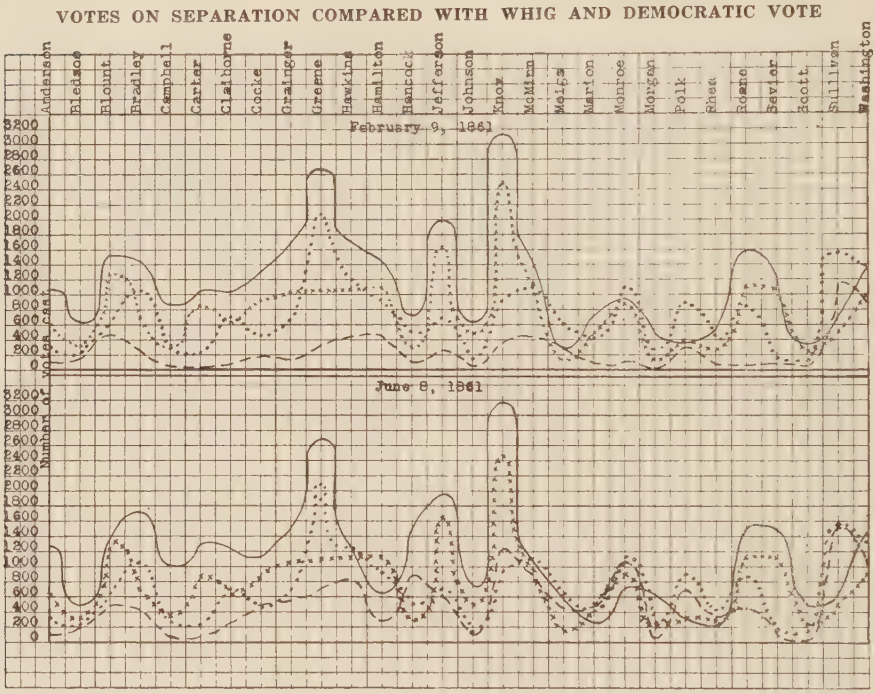
other East Tennessee county."[14] But in every East Tennessee county except four the normal Democratic vote was more than the separation vote of June, 1861, this in spite of the fact that some Whigs joined the secession movement. The table below shows the Democratic and Whig (Constitutional Union) vote of 1860 in comparison with the "separation" and "no separation" vote of June, 1861.[15]

	Presidential election of 1860		Separation election of June, 1861	
County	*Democrat*	*Whig (C.U.)*	*Separation*	*Union*
Anderson	369	614	97	1276
Bledsoe	215	361	197	500
Blount	633	1261	418	1766
Bradley	1060	710	507	1382
Campbell	291	345	59	1000
Carter	220	839	86	1343
Claiborne	728	614	250	1243
Cocke	487	933	518	1185
Grainger	684	1047	586	1492
Greene	2092	1048	744	2691
Hawkins	1239	1067	908	1460
Hamilton	985	1074	854	1260
Hancock	511	309	279	630
Jefferson	716	1623	603	1987
Johnson	144	508	111	787
Knox	1087	2417	1226	3196
McMinn	1119	986	904	1144
Meigs	609	150	481	267
Marion	403	498	414	600
Monroe	1151	915	1096	774
Morgan	264	165	50	630
Polk	888	396	738	317
Rhea	410	289	360	202
Roane	882	1105	454	1568
Sevier	195	1035	60	1528
Scott	155	252	19	521
Sullivan	1586	358	1586	627
Washington	1398	967	1022	1445
Totals	20,551	22,320	14,780	32,923

[14]Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee, From 1833-1875, Their Times and Their Contemporaries* (New York, 1912), 357-467. O. P. Temple felt that the Unionist party and later the Republican party were the old Whig party under a new name. He writes of such men as Judge John Baxter, Judge Connally F. Trigg, and others who left the Unionists or Republican parties as men who left their "life-long" party. Nor did he seemingly ever feel that he, himself, had changed parties, but rather that the old Whig party had had its name changed. *Ibid.*, 72, 92.

[15]The figures for the table are found in Nashville *Republican Banner*, December 4, 1860; Nashville *Union and American*, June 25, 1861. The papers report them as "official with the exception of two or three counties."

Oliver P. Temple, whose figures cannot be verified, contended that "the Union party in East Tennessee in the June election of 1861 was composed of about 20,520 Whigs and 13,890 Democrats, and the secession party of about 9,260 Democrats



——— Against Separation.
— — — — For separation.
xxxxxxx Whig vote (Bell, Constitutional Union party, 1860).
. . . . . Democratic vote (Breckinridge and Douglass, 1860).

and 5,130 Whigs."[16] This, he said, meant that the Unionist party consisted of four fifths of the old-line Whigs of 1860 and three fifths of the old-line Democrats of that year. The secession party then was composed of one fifth of the old-line Whigs and three fifths of the 1860 Democrats. Temple arrived at these fractions by arithmetic and his figures though arbitrary have not been questioned. He pointed out that the June vote was in

[16]O. P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War* (Cincinnati, 1899), 540. Temple's figures for the June election of 1861 do not correspond in several instances with the table given above due to the fact that there are no official records of the elections for this period and newspaper reports vary. Temple listed two East Tennessee counties not included in the above table, Sequatchie and Union. In the presidental election of 1860 Sequatchie voted with Hamilton and hence could not be used in the table of comparison. Union county election returns throughout the 1850's and 1860's were consistently late, sometimes seemingly too late to appear in the tables carried by the newspapers of the state.

round numbers 48,800 in East Tennessee; that the Whig majority in East Tennessee in 1860 was 2,500. Hence, of the 48,800 votes, the Whigs could have voted 25,650 and the Democrats 23,150, but the results in round numbers were 34,000 against secession and 14,800 for secession. Therefore, he figured that four fifths of the Whigs and three fifths of the Democrats would bring almost the exact number polled for the Union. On the other hand, one fifth of the Whigs and two fifths of the Democrats was the only combination which would bring almost the exact number of votes polled by the secession party.[17] The actual vote in 1861, according to Temple's figures, was 34,033 for the Union and 14,872 for separation.

Temple was surprised at the results of his own figures, "particularly at the large number of old Democrats who voted for the Union." About the one fifth of his own party who became secessionist he said: ". . . the Whigs who thus joined the Confederacy were among the best men in the party, many of them being slaveholders."[18] A large number of Democrats in the first district, Andrew Johnson's district, remained loyal. These Democrats followed Johnson in the election of 1860 when he was speaking for Breckinridge, who obtained a plurality over John Bell of 1,006 votes in Greene county. Then, in June, 1861, these same people in Greene county voted for the Union by a majority of 1,947 votes, again following Johnson.[19]

The election of June, 1861, set the final stamp on whether East Tennessee counties would be Democratic or Republican counties. The line-up here by and large continued throughout the subsequent political battles to the end of the century.[20] The drift toward secession of course ceased as such when Tennessee joined the Confederacy. After the league with that government had been formed, East Tennesseans continued to drift toward the Southern side, but certainly not in large numbers.

The movement toward the Southern cause may be seen in part by a brief study of some East Tennessee leaders and how they changed. Of a selected group of eighty-seven leading men in East Tennessee whose political affiliations at the outbreak of the Civil War can now be determined, fifty-seven were Unionists and thirty were Secessionists. The fifty-seven Unionists

[17] *Ibid.*
[18] *Ibid.*
[19] Nashville *Union and American,* June 25, 1861.
[20] Daniel M. Robison, *Bob Taylor* (Chapel Hill, 1935), 10.

were made up of forty-one former old-line Whigs and thirteen Democrats. The party affiliations of three Unionists cannot now be determined. It is interesting to note that eleven of the Unionists who had been Whigs turned to the Conservative or Democratic ranks during the course of the war, while only one of the pre-war Democrats who became Unionists is known to have changed to the Radical party and later to the Republican party.

Of the thirty Secessionists, thirteen were known to have been Democrats at the outbreak of the war and eleven had been Whigs. Six of the thirty Secessionists could not be classified as to party affiliations. Of the Whigs, three aligned themselves with the Democratic party during the course of the war, but none of the Democrats changed to the Republican party.[21]

By mathematics, one observes that approximately three fourths of the Unionist leaders in East Tennessee were old-line Whigs at the outbreak of the war and of this three fourths, one fifth left the Union ranks. Of the one fourth of the Unionists who had been Democrats, one fifth later turned to the secessionist side. This left the Unionist party at the end of the war composed of one fifth Democrats and four fifths old-line Whigs. No additional Democrats drifted into the Unionist party from the Secessionist ranks.

The Secessionists, on the other hand, were composed of approximately two fifths former Democrats, a little over a third of old-line Whigs, and approximately one fourth cannot be classified. Of the Whigs who were for secession, approximately one half were members of the Democratic party after the war. The conclusion may be drawn that at the end of the war one half of the Confederate leaders of East Tennessee were former Democrats, slightly over one fourth were old-line Whigs, and one fourth cannot be classified.[22]

It is, however, upon the Unionist party that attention should be focused, in which it is observed that almost four fifths of the East Tennessee leaders were old-line Whigs at the close

[21]Those men from Temple's list in his *Notable Men of Tennessee* whose pre-war party affiliations could be discovered have been used. Other men listed and their party affiliations were collected from the following works: O. P. Temple, *East Tennessee and the Civil War, passim;* William T. Hale and D. J. Merritt, *History of Tennessee,* I, and III; P. M. Hamer, *op. cit.; The Dictionary of American Biography;* and the Knoxville *Whig* during the war years.

[22]Arda Susan Walker, a student assistant in history, did the tedious work of searching out the East Tennessee leaders and determining their party affiliations.

of the war. These figures correspond closely with Temple's figures on the total changes in East Tennessee.

As the Civil War dragged toward an end in Tennessee, more than three years after old political parties had ceased to exert any influence, the Unionist group began to emerge as the victors in whose hands would be placed all political duties and rights. The Secessionists, on the other hand, were being forced to accept the role of political outcasts. For a time after 1864, the Secessionists continued toward political oblivion, a stage from which they did not reappear until 1869. As the former Secessionists and Confederates ceased to have any political influence, the Unionists began to divide into what appeared to be political parties. Out of that division slowly emerged the new parties; hence these Unionist divisions must be considered carefully.

This division in the Unionist ranks had its beginning with the issuance of Lincoln's preliminary emancipation proclamation. Many Union men who had at first given some support to the Confederacy believed that the emancipation proclamation was unconstitutional.[23] Other Conservative Unionists, men who had been Unionists all along, felt the same way about the emancipation act. These Unionists were followers of Andrew Johnson and believed in the Senate resolution proposed by him which maintained that the war was to be waged for the preservation of the Union and for no other purpose.[24]

A few examples will make clearer the change in attitudes because of the emancipation proclamation. Such men as Judge John Baxter, William B. Carter, Thomas A. R. Nelson, John Netherland, and General James G. Spears all seem to have changed their attitude on the question of Unionism because of the emancipation proclamation. Baxter was much displeased with "the emancipation policy of Mr. Lincoln . . . and quickly denounced it" and other measures. So incensed was he that he joined the Democratic party and remained there until about 1875. William B. Carter, who showed his pro-Unionism by promoting the bridge-burning episode in East Tennessee in

[23]P. M. Hamer, *op. cit.*, II, 583.

[24]The resolution proposed in the United States Senate by Johnson and, in 1861, adopted by Congress, said in part that the war was to be waged only to "defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity, equality, and rights of the several states unimpaired, and that as soon as these objects were accomplished the war ought to end." See *Cong. Globe,* 37 Cong. 1 Sess., Appendix, 243-65.

1861, became the "leader of the conservative opposition" after the emancipation, and "enthusiastically demanded the preservation of the Constitution as it was." Thomas A. R. Nelson claimed that Lincoln had neither the right nor the authority to issue the proclamation. He turned anti-Republican and remained so until his death. In the spring of 1864, John Netherland took offense at the administration and joined in the McClellan movement and continued to cooperate with the Democratic party the rest of his life. General Spears, the only Democrat of the group, bent all his efforts toward the Union cause, even to joining the Federal army and making himself conspicuous by his bravery in the battle of Murfreesboro and in many skirmishes. In 1864, he denounced emancipation as "illegal and unauthorized." He maintained that he "went into the army to support and uphold the old Constitution" which did not now need altering. He became so bitter that Lincoln had him dismissed from the army.[25] Thus the proclamation freeing the Negroes caused a number to oppose the Lincoln administration. Then, as Reconstruction came on, others who had stood for the Union throughout the war could not go along with the Radicals in their program of proscription and for that reason joined the Conservatives. Andrew Johnson would be the best example of this group.

Unconditional Unionists (Republicans-to-be), however, had approved all the acts of the Federal government in its efforts to win the war. These extreme Unoin men were at the beginning of the war in close cooperation with the four who changed to a conservative position. They were led by such men as William G. Brownlow, Horace Maynard, T. D. Arnold, Samuel Milligan, and Oliver P. Temple. These men and hundreds of others like them but with less leadership made up the Unconditional Unionist party of 1861 and afterwards. They finally became the core of the Republican party.

A second step in the development of distinct party lines came a short time later with the efforts of Andrew Johnson, military governor, to re-inaugurate loyal government in Tennessee. After the Federals took Chattanooga and Knoxville early in September, 1863, President Lincoln instructed the military governor that "not a moment should be lost" in re-inaugurating

[25]Temple, *Notable Men of Tennessee;* see separate biographical sketches of men named.

a loyal civil government.[26] But later in the same month the Federals were defeated at Chickamauga, September 20, 1863. It was December of that year before Lincoln offered his liberal amnesty oath and the ten per cent plan for the political reconstruction of the Southern states. In January, 1864, Johnson attempted to get Lincoln's plan going by holding in Nashville a convention which resolved, among other things, that a civil government could best be inaugurated by a convention chosen by the "loyal citizens of the state." Andrew Johnson believed, however, that restoration could best be made by the election of justices of the peace and other county officers. With such a beginning in mind, he called an election for March 5, 1864, to elect county officials.[27]

The voters in this first post-war election were divided into two groups: those who were willing to take Lincoln's amnesty oath and those who, having been Loyalist all along, did not have to take the oath. The former were to be known as Conservatives and had been supporters of the Confederacy at the out-set but had soon become Union men. The latter were largely East Tennessee Unionists who joined with Johnson in his feeling that Lincoln's amnesty oath was not sufficient. Hence, many of the voters in this election had to take, in addition to Lincoln's amnesty oath, what they termed Johnson's "damnasty" oath. The issue in this would-be election was whether or not there should have been a second oath to qualify for suffrage. This oath required all who took it to swear that they ardently desired the extension of the emancipation proclamation to Tennessee.[28] Some Conservatives (hesitant Union men) chose what they considered the lesser of two evils and took both oaths in order to be able to vote in the March election.[29]

Conservatives who had participated in the rebellion took the oaths to no avail, however, for, in February of 1864, Horace Maynard, attorney-general, and an East Tennessee Unconditional Unionist, issued a ruling that Conservatives who had supported the Confederacy could not vote until six months after taking the amnesty oath. He maintained that, by supporting

[26]*The War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies,* Series Three, III (Washington, 1901), 789. Chattanooga fell to the Federal army on September 2, and Knoxville on September 9, 1863. Lincoln wrote to Johnson on September 11.

[27]Nashville *Daily Press,* February 23, 1864.

[28]*Ibid.*

[29]Knoxville *Whig,* February 6, 1864.

rebellion they had lost their citizenship. The oath restored them to citizenship, but the state constitution said that "a voter must have been a citizen of the United States for six months,"[30] prior to an election in which he wanted to participate. In spite of this arrangement, the election was bi-partisan, and, in many counties, the Conservatives won, though in no place was any appreciable number of votes cast. Where there were Federal armies and officeholders the Unconditionals won. Many people thought the election was not an election but a travesty or a farce.[31] Johnson was thoroughly disappointed at the strength shown by the Conservatives and made no further attempt toward civil government at the time.[32]

The next party contest came before, and as a preliminary to, the presidential election of November, 1864. Some of the Conservative Unionists were former Democrats, as has been seen. These attended the Democratic national convention and later placed a McClellan-Pendleton electoral ticket in the field in Tennessee. Johnson called a Unionist convention to meet in Nashville in September, 1864, and both Unconditional Unionists and Conservative Unionists appeared as members of this convention. At the opening meeting, the Conservative Unionists were denounced as secessionists and "copperheads" and "kicked out" of the convention. The rump convention then drew up a second "dam-nasty" oath, which required all prospective voters to swear that they would "cordially oppose all armistices or negotations for peace with rebels in arms . . . [and] will heartily aid and assist the loyal people in whatever measures may be adopted . . . ."[33] This oath was a party measure aimed to silence the Conservatives, for a voter could not swear to this and then vote for a platform which contained a plank advocating "peace by negotiation."

The Conservative Unionists made a direct appeal to Lincoln, but they got no satisfaction. In the campaign, their meetings were broken up by Negroes and East Tennessee soldiers. Johnson said that loyal men were to be the controllers of "Ten-

[30] *Ibid.*, February 20, 1864.

[31] *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1864, p. 764; the Nashville *Union and American* said of the election that "so far as Nashville is concerned [the election] was a serious farce."

[32] James W. Fertig, *The Secession and Reconstruction of Tennessee* (Chicago, 1898), 13; James W. Patton, *Unionism and Reconstruction in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1934), 42.

[33] *Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1864, p. 765.

nessee's grand and sublime destinies, and Rebels must be dumb.'"[34]

This presidential election, like Johnson's first attempt to hold an election, was little short of a farce. The vote for the state is unrecorded, but in Memphis, the Lincoln-Johnson electors received 1,579 votes and the McClellan electors 24 votes; in Nashville, the Lincoln ticket received 1,317, the McClellan ticket 25. The Lincoln-Johnson electors cast the vote of Tennessee for the Union ticket, but Congress, opposed to Lincoln's work of reconstruction, and not needing the vote of any state that had seceded to elect the Union party candidates, threw out the votes of Tennessee along with the votes from Louisiana and Arkansas.[35]

The end of the year 1864 was drawing near and no civil government for Tennessee had been organized. Other efforts were to be made and out of these efforts more distinct political parties emerged. In December, 1864, the Unionist Executive Committee of East Tennessee called a convention to meet in Nashville to nominate delegates to a state constitutional convention. The few Unionists in the other sections of the state agreed. But before anything could be done, General John B. Hood invaded Tennessee. It was not until after the disastrous battles of Franklin and Nashville that the Unionists were free to attempt the re-establishment of a civil government in the state. The convention called for December, 1864, met in Nashville on January 8, 1865.

A Middle Tennessee Radical paper described the arrival in Nashville of the East Tennessee delegation by proclaiming triumphantly:

> The men of the mountains came down in their strength on Saturday to attend the convention today. Parson Brownlow and about one hundred fifty other good men and true arrived nearly frozen bodily by a long dreary ride in box cars from Knoxville; but spiritually all aglow with fire and unquenchable patriotism . . . .[36]

[34]Patton, *op. cit.*, 48; P. M. Hammer, *op. cit.*, II, 59.0

[35]*Cong. Globe*, 38 Cong. 2 Sess., 668-69. The resolution not to count the electoral votes of any of the eleven states that had seceded declared that "no valid election" was held in any of these, including Tennessee. In the debate over the resolution Ben Wade, in charge of the resolution in the Senate, said the votes of these states would not be counted even if needed to elect Lincoln, but the resolution was not introduced until all knew how the election had gone. See *ibid.*, 553-98. The passage of this resolution was a feature of the fight between the Radicals and Lincoln over his work as a reconstructionist. The resolution was intended as a trap which it was believed the President could not avoid, but he side-stepped very neatly and taught his tormentors a lesson in politics.

[36]Nashville *Press and Times*, January 9, 1865.

When this convention got down to business on the following Tuesday morning, there were some 521 delegates from sixty counties, of whom a goodly proportion were Federal soldiers.[37]

In the convention political divisions appeared at once as the delegates debated a resolution offered by L. C. Houk, a Radical from East Tennessee. Houk's resolution limited membership in the convention to "delegates who had actively supported the Union." A. J. Clements of Macon county in Middle Tennessee argued that such a resolution excluded many from his section who had been supporters of the Confederacy but who were now in the United States army. After much warm discussion, Houk's resolution was adopted.[38]

Another East Tennessean offered a more radical resolution which widened the breach in the Unionist ranks. In this resolution, Roderick Random Butler of Johnson county proposed that voting be by counties and that each county be given one vote for each hundred votes cast in the county against disunion in 1861. Middle and West Tennessee delegates argued against this resolution and threatened to quit the convention should it be adopted. It was adopted after a bitter debate on Tuesday, then reconsidered on Wednesday and withdrawn in deference to an agreement worked out the previous night.[39] Enough had been done in organizing the convention to show that Unconditional Unionists, and mainly those of East Tennessee, were running the convention.

The work of the convention, once it was organized, caused much political animus. The convention had been called to nominate candidates to a state constitutional convention, but, instead, the assemblage arrogated unto itself the character and prerogatives of a constitutional convention. After six days of bitter debate, the majority proposed an amendment abolishing slavery and "a schedule" which declared null and void all acts taking Tennessee out of the Union and all legislative acts passed after the state declared for independence.[40] The convention further "empowered" the military governor to call an election for choosing a governor and legislature whenever he thought fit. Then the versatile group became a party convention and nomi-

[37]Knoxville *Whig*, January 25, 1864.
[38]P. M. Hamer, *op. cit.*, II, 592-93.
[39]*Ibid.*, 594.
[40]The schedule, composed of eight sections, was printed in its entirety in the *Whig*, January 25, 1865.

nated Brownlow for governor and selected a general legislative ticket. The election for governor and legislators was to be by plebiscite which should be held as soon as possible after the referendum on the amendment and "schedule."

On the amendment and the "schedule" those eligible could vote by writing or printing the word "ratification" or "rejection" on their ballots. All could vote who would take the oath that had been required for voting in the presidential election of the previous year, or all who were well known to the judges of the election as Unconditional Union men. Furthermore, each voter was to write his name plainly on the back of his ballot, and all ballots were to be preserved. The political implications in the work of this "convention" were that all who could not follow the extreme Unionists had better stay at home on election day.

The amendment and the "schedule" were ratified on February 22, 1865, by 26,865 to 67. The total vote was small: in Knox county there were 2,452 "ratifications" and 3 "rejections"; in Nashville 1,416 "ratifications" and 3 "rejections." It was called a "mud-sill vote," for most men of influence or property neither visited the polls nor gave the election the slightest thought.[41] Although the total vote cast in this election was disappointingly small, it may be taken as an accurate measure of the strength of the Radical Unionist party in 1865 because of the keenness with which they looked forward to the victory.

On March 4, 1865, a governor and legislature were chosen by plebiscite, the vote being 23,352 to 35. On April 5, 1865, this small and extreme Unionist party came into power and for two years following, Tennessee political parties revolved around the acts of Governor Brownlow and the measures of his legislature. This legislature passed many acts, but only those bearing directly on party affairs of that day or later will be considered here. Many of the acts which have any party significance were, as the speaker of the Senate, Samuel R. Rodgers, said, aimed to keep the loyal people of the state from ever being "governed by rebels." He continued, "Look at the returned rebels . . . boasting of what they intend, cursing this Legislature as a bogus concern."[42]

The most important work of the legislature was that of carrying out of a provision of the "schedule" recently added to

[41]Knoxville *Whig*, March 1, 1865, and quoting the Memphis *Bulletin*.
[42]Knoxville *Whig*, May 3, 1865.

the constitution which placed on this legislature the responsibility for fixing the elective franchise. The fixing of the franchise was a political machination and on this question two schools of opinion appeared at once. The extreme Radicals proposed to disfranchise all who had supported the Confederacy in any way. The less radical proposed that suffrage be granted to all who would henceforth be loyal to the United States constitution, excluding in addition to those excluded by Lincoln's proclamation of amnesty such others as "ought not to vote because of their present disloyal conduct."[43]

The debate on the new franchise bill was bitter but not too long, for on June 5, 1865, the Radicals won by adopting the Arnell Bill, named for Samuel M. Arnell. This act made a classification of all who could vote. The whole matter boiled down to the franchise being limited to Unconditional Union men and few others. The act was more a disfranchising act for it disfranchised all who had given aid and comfort to the Confederacy. One class was disfranchised for fifteen years, and the rest, including all common soldiers of the Confederacy, for five years. The law further provided that all voters were to be registered by the county court clerk and that any voter might be challenged at the ballot box. If a voter was challenged, then he must take a severe oath, which included a promise to support the federal and state officials, the General Assembly, etc.[44] Many people could not take such an oath because they felt the whole state government to be extra-legal or unconstitutional. The motive for wanting to vote on the part of the people who would not take the oath was of course a desire to be rid of the whole regime.

This disfranchising act was more severe than many of the Tennessee Radicals wished, but as the Speaker of the House admitted, they were attempting, by its enactment, to win favor with the Radicals at Washington. The Speaker wrote: "If I am correctly informed from Washington, should we fail or neglect to disfranchize [*sic*] rebels the state of Ten.[*sic*] will at once be put under a military Governor and our members of Congress will not be admitted."[45] The Radicals no doubt thought they had worked out a franchise law which would keep their

[43]*House Journal*, 34 General Assembly, 1 Session, 1865, pp. 196, 220-21.

[44]Knoxville *Whig*, June 21, 1865.

[45]S. R. Rodgers to Col. O. P. Temple, May 13, 1865, Temple Papers (University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville).

party in control and at the same time would win them favor at Washington.

The first political party test under the new franchise act came in August, 1865. At this time representatives to the national House were to be elected. During the campaign, ex-Confederates stood aside disfranchised, while the Conservative and Radical factions of the Unionists each urged the defeat of the other. The issues were the Radical regime and the franchise law. Governor Brownlow inadvertently gave what was probably a true picture of the whole difficulty when he said: "The franchise law is a necessary and legal measure to prevent the placing of East Tennessee again under . . . such men as Harris, or Cheatham, or Bate, or Pillow, a mere appendage to a rebel state!"[46]

Aside from the franchise law, other means were used to thwart the Conservatives. They were threatened with the Federal army, and finally when the Conservatives won in five of the eight congressional districts, the Governor refused to count all of the votes in one district and thereby saved his friend Samuel M. Arnell, author of the franchise law, from defeat.[47] In this election, some 62,000 votes were cast, approximately one third of the voting strength of the state in 1861. The Radicals were amazed at the outcome, because their extreme position had been rejected by handpicked Unionist voters. They were forced to conclude that the franchise law of the previous year was not sufficiently stringent.

The Radicals, before this election, had dreamed of complete strangulation of the old pre-war parties and of building up one "thorough-going Union Party." As a Middle Tennessee Radical paper put it:

> Sagacious, energetic patriots will listen to no trickster and office hunter, who calls for the revival of the old Whig or the old Democratic party. These partisan organizations lived their days, and perished at last of their corruptions; and we think they perished not a day too soon. What the people demand now, is a great, living, thorough-going Union Party . . . .[48]

Despite the conviction of this Radical paper, the dissension within the Radical party was threatening the very existence of the organization.[49] Brownlow, able politican that he was, per-

[46]Knoxville *Whig,* August 16, 1865.
[47]*Senate Journal,* 34 General Assembly, 2 Session, 1865-66, p. 154.
[48]Nashville *Press and Times,* July 7, 1865.
[49]*Ibid.,* July 11, 1865.

formed many acts and said many things which promoted division in the party which he was trying to lead. In writing to a friend, he said: "They [the Radicals] are backed up by the loyal masses North, who are resolved not to follow Johnson with his newly-formed partizans in his wild scheme to ressurect [*sic*] the Democratic party . . . ."[50]

The Tennessee Radicals, by becoming more and more extreme, were forcing the more moderate men to leave the Radical position and join the Conservatives.[51] This shift in the Radical position developed in Tennessee in connection with a new franchise law. The recent congressional election had demonstrated that in a general state election the Conservatives would gain the ascendancy. The Radical extremist could not question the loyalty of the Conservatives because they were "solid and substantial Union men whose loyalty was above question."[52] But the Conservatives opposed a new disfranchising act.

The new bill, which in due time became a law, consisted of two parts. The first part provided that only those white men could vote who had never borne arms against the United States, had never given aid or comfort to rebels, had never sought or accepted civil or military office under the Confederacy or any part of its states, and had never given money or property to aid the rebellion. Exceptions were made for white men who had been honorably discharged from the United States army or navy or had voted in the elections of the previous November, February, or March, or had been appointed to office in Tennessee by Johnson or Brownlow. The second part of the law was even more important and led eventually to the undoing of the Radicals. Under this phase of the new law, voters had to secure certificates from county commissioners of registration. These commissioners were appointed by, and could be removed at the will of, the governor.[53] While the franchise law was in the process of being passed, the Governor described it as "a terrible Bill, with some rough plans in it . . . . The rebels are furious," he said, "but our men don't regard them."[54]

The bill was so terrible "that it divided the Governor's party into warring factions." The Conservatives tried to prevent

[50]W. G. Brownlow to Col. O. P. Temple, January 25, 1866, Temple Papers.
[51]E. M. Coulter, *William G. Brownlow* (Chapel Hill, 1937), 284.
[52]Patton, *op. cit.*, 114.
[53]Knoxville *Whig*, March 7, 1866.
[54]W. G. Brownlow to Col. O. P. Temple, January 25, 1866, Temple Papers.

passage by staying away and thereby preventing a quorum. The legislature degenerated into a brawl, with swearing and fighting between the speaker, William Heiskell of Knox County, and James Mullins of Bedford county. Finally, seventeen of the more conservative resigned, and new elections were called to fill the vacancies.[55] This election offered a second chance to see what the few voters in counties where elections were to be held thought of the extreme Radical program. Brownlow called the opposition to a new franchise law the "little rebellion" and his paper, the *Whig*, began advocating that East Tennessee "seceed" from the rest of the state if the Conservatives won, as apparently they were going to do.[56]

When the votes were counted, all but three of the Conservatives had been re-elected. The Radicals denied seats to some of these Conservatives, on the ground that they had pledged their constituents to prevent the passage of the franchise bill! The three Radicals who won in the by-election were seated. This addition gave the Radicals a majority of the total number in legislature which was necessary for a quorum,[57] and the new franchise law was passed on May 3, 1866.[58]

The party division over the franchise question, unlike that of secession in 1861, was temporary rather than permanent. Of the seventeen who resigned only three were East Tennesseans: Williams of Carter county, Willis of Hawkins county and Hood of Hamilton county. Of these three, Willis is not mentioned in any record that could be discovered. The other two, like practically all Radicals, became Republicans. As far as could be discovered the others who resigned, but who were not East Tennesseans, were later Republicans. For example, A. A. Freeman was nominated for governor on the Republican ticket in 1872. At the time these legislators resigned, the question was how extreme the new franchise law should be, and they no doubt knew the sentiment of their constituents and simply refused to go along with Brownlow and his extremists. Brown-

[55]Those resigning from the House were: William Barton of Cannon county; T. H. Bledsoe, Lincoln; N. Brandon, Stewart; W. Y. Elliot, Rutherford; Asa Faulkner, Warren; A. A. Freeman, Haywood; J. R. Hood, Hamilton; W. B. Lewis, Davidson; A. D. Nicks, Dickson; C. N. Ordway, Giles; W. P. Scales, Dyer; W. Simmons, Franklin; A. A. Steele, Marshall; S. P. Walker, Shelby; A. R. Wayne, Sumner; Pleasant Williams, Carter; and W. W. Willis, Hawkins. *House Journal*, 34 General Assembly, 1865-66, pp. 403ff.

[56]Knoxville *Whig*, March 14, 1866.

[57]*House Journal*, 34 General Assembly, 2 Session, 1865, 420ff.

[58]Knoxville *Whig*, May 5, 1866.

low accused them of having resigned to "gratify the amnestied and pardoned rebels," and when the by-election returned most of them, he said, "the traitors . . . have been re-elected by disloyal constituencies."[59]

The Radicals had for a second time tried to concoct a measure of disfranchisement strong enough to keep this party in power. There remained other steps which they could and did take: namely, enfranchisement of the Negroes, and passing a state guard act. They reasoned that with a majority of white men of the state disqualified, and with the Negroes voting the Radical ticket, as they would most surely do, the small group of Radicals, largely from East Tennessee, could keep themselves in power indefinitely.[60] Governor Brownlow had discussed the possibility of giving the vote to Negroes as early as October, 1865. The legislature had considered the measure in the spring of 1866. But, chiefly because of the strong opposition of DeWitt C. Senter in the Senate, who seemed to speak largely for East Tennessee, the measure was not passed.[61] A state guard would be a potent weapon at the polls and the Radicals believed it would be needed should Negroes attempt to vote.

Brownlow, to win support for his program, was preaching in and out of Tennessee, another war. The rebels were going to bring it on, but he wanted it, for "then there could be some real hanging parties. Johnson would, in this second rebellion, take the place of Jeff Davis."[62] But to paraphrase Brownlow is to lose some of the venom; his own paper reported that he had said many times and from different stumps:

> If another war shall be forced upon this country the loyal masses who constitute an overwhelming majority of the people of this great nation in-

[59]Knoxville *Whig*, March 7, April 11, 1866.

[60]*Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1866, 731. As Brownlow put it, "with the loyal men of the State allowed to vote, the government thereof will remain in loyal hands. Without their votes, the State will pass into disloyal hands."

[61]Patton, *op. cit.*, 128. DeWitt C. Senter was a Unionist. At this time, he was the senator representing Claiborne, Grainger, Anderson, and Campbell counties, all in East Tennessee. Brownlow, like Senter, opposed Negro suffrage personally and was afraid that East Tennessee Radicals would defeat any program favoring the Negroes. In the previous year, he issued a statement to "the East Tennessee Loyalists." And among other things, he said, "I felt confident that the passage of such a law [granting Negroes the right to testify in court] would satisfy the colored people of the country, and that the indiscriminate right of suffrage would not be exacted of us; whereas, if we should fail to concede to the Negro the right to testify, Congress would grant it for us, and with it the right of suffrage." The Governor continued:

> "A law to this effect has already passed the [state] Senate but the chances are that it will be defeated in the Houes. If defeated, it will be killed by the loyal votes of East Tennessee—the members correctly representing the sentiments of their constituents." Nashville *Press and Times*, December 2, 1865.

[62]Knoxville *Whig*, October, 1866, and later issues.

tend it shall be no child's play. They will do as they ought to do, make the entire Southern Confederacy as God found the earth when he commenced the work of creation, "Without form and void." They will not and ought not leave a rebel fence-rail, out-house, or dwelling in the eleven seceded states.—And as for the rebel population, let them be exterminated. And when the War is wound up, which should be done rapidly, and with swift destruction—let the land be re-surveyed and sold out to pay the expenses of the war, and settled only by a people who will respect the Stars and Stripes.

I want to have something to say about the division of your [Northern] forces the next time. I would divide your great army into three grand divisions.—Let the first go armed and equipped as the law of the army require, with small arms and artillery.—Let that be the larger division and let them do the killing. Let the second division be armed with pine torches and spirits of turpentine, and let them do the burning. Let the third and last division be supplied with surveyor's compasses and chains and we will survey out the land and settle it. Those are my sentiments.[63]

In August, 1867, there would be a general election, and both governor and legislature would be called to the ballot box for an accounting. The Radicals, now generally calling themselves Republicans, decided that a Negro sufferage measure and a state guard act should be passed before the coming election. By the end of February, 1867, both acts had been passed.[64] By the first law, Negroes were permitted to vote but not to hold office.[65] By the second act, Brownlow could raise one or more companies of state guardsmen from each congressional district. The governor could call out this army as he saw fit "to keep peace or to enforce the law."[66]

With Negro suffrage, and with a military force at their beck and call, the Radical Republicans met on February 22, 1867, and nominated Brownlow for a second term.[67]

Although the situation seemed hopeless to the Conservatives, they met in convention in April and nominated the Honorable Emerson Etheridge, a former Whig, then a Unionist, and later a Republican, to oppose Brownlow.[68] The outcome of the election was a surprise to no one. The Brownlow Radicals,

[63]Knoxville *Whig,* August 22, September 12, 1866. In summarizing the work of the three divisions, he protected loyal Southern men in each point. *Ibid.,* October 24, 1866.

[64]*Acts of Tennessee,* 34 General Assembly, 3 Session, 1866, pp. 27ff.

[65]Nashville *Banner,* December 5, 1867.

[66]Knoxville *Whig,* January and February, 1867; Nashville *Press and Times,* March 18, 1867.

[67]Knoxville *Whig,* February 25, 1867.

[68]*Ibid.,* April 21, 1867.

now officially the Republican Union party, won with 74,034 votes to 22,550 votes cast by the Conservative Unionists.[69] The election gave the Republicans the entire delegation in the lower house at Washington, and at Nashville they had all but a unanimous legislature.[70] As for East Tennessee, the Republican stronghold then as now, Brownlow carried every county in this section and his total vote was 25,789 to 4,155 for Etheridge.

Through this election and all that led up to it, a Republican party was formed, and many members of the party hoped that their large vote[71] in the August election of 1867, plus accretions from immigrants, would make their party a majority party in the state.

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[69]Charles A. Miller, *Official Manual of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1890), 170. Many Conservatives, former Confederates, could not, or would not, vote for Etheridge because they felt he had been too ardently for the Union.

[70]The Conservatives had managed to elect four members of the legislature.

[71]The Republican vote of more than 74,000 was within 8,000 of a majority of all votes cast in the election of June 8, 1861, on the question of secession. This they considered an excellent showing, and they might well hope to become a majority party within a short time, if accretions hoped for could be realized.

THE HISTORICAL RECORDS SURVEY IN TENNESSEE: A REVIEW OF FIVE YEARS

By The Tennessee Historical Records Survey[1]

The spring of 1941 marked the fifth anniversary of the Historical Records Survey program in both Tennessee and the nation. Launched in 1936 as an unorthodox, in some quarters regarded as unworkable, project designed to prepare guides to unpublished archival and other historical materials, the Survey, beginning with its first publications the following year, ceased to be merely an experiment. It has, instead, in its half-decade of existence, become something of a major force in archival science and administration in the United States.

Concern over the condition and preservation of local archives was not new in 1936, nor was there an absence of realization that local archives constitute a treasure-house of information, a great mass of largely unexploited source material. It has been observed that it is a paradox that in the United States, where local self government is very highly developed, local records are most poorly kept.[2] Resolutions expressing concern had been adopted by learned societies from time to time. Scholars, lawyers, and publicists had likewise gone on record by saying that something "ought to be done" to preserve basic public records, but actually little had been accomplished. The American Historical Association, in its *Annual Report* for 1906, published the findings of St. George L. Sioussat, who had been commissioned to report on the condition of local archives in Tennessee.[3] Dr. Sioussat's listing of archives, while hardly more than a sample, pointed to the existence of primitive archival practices in Tennessee and to irretrievable loss of public records. New, however, in the field of local archives was the intervention of the federal government, when in 1936 it was boldly proposed that Works Progress Administration workers be assigned to a nationwide project to determine the extent, nature, and loca-

[1]One of the Research and Records Programs of the Division of Community Service Programs of the Work Projects Administration.

[2]Robert C. Binkley, "Cultural Program of the W.P.A." *Harvard Educational Review*, IX (March, 1939), 156-74.

[3]St. George Leakin Sioussat, "*A Preliminary Report Upon the Archives of Tennessee*," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for* 1906 (Washington, 1908).

tion of the records made by the country's various state and local units of government in the transaction of public business.

There is in the country and in this region a reawakening of interest in local history and, in turn, in local archives. The increasing emphasis on social history, the growing interest and pride in local history and institutions, the exacting points of view citizens are adopting toward their governmental units—all demand a new appraisal of local archives and of the uses to which they may be put. It is being realized more and more that local archives are a living part of the community and the nation.

The Historical Records Survey has had a considerable part in this new appraisal of public records. The Survey has as its general purpose the preparation of bibliographical guides to render more accessible the unpublished official documents of states, counties, cities, and other local units of government, and, also, significant non-public historical materials. These bibliographies are designed to serve as handbooks for the county or other local public officials, whose daily administrative duties, if efficiently performed, require examination of the records left them by their predecessors, and to make possible the fullest utilization of the storehouse of information contained in local records by the country's army of research workers seeking information in scores of different fields. The quantity—measurable perhaps only in tons—of records processed by the Historical Records Survey may be appreciated by realizing that there are in the United States, in addition to the federal government, forty-eight state governments, 3,066 counties, and many thousands of cities, towns, villages, and other units of local government. There are probably 250,000 churches, several thousand labor unions, and numerous libraries, historical societies, and other groups in possession of archives and private papers. A great part of this material has been arranged, listed, described, and brought sufficiently under control for purposes of citations by the Survey.

Prior to September, 1939, the Historical Records Survey was a single nationwide federal project; since that time the program has been made up of fifty-one so-called statewide projects which together constitute a nationwide program.[4] Since 1939, the Historical Records Survey projects in the states have,

[4]There are separate projects in Northern and Southern California, New York City and New York State, and the District of Columbia.

like other WPA projects, been locally sponsored. Sponsorship of the project by public agencies involves the assumption by the agencies of non-labor costs for materials and supplies, the greater part of which, such as stencils, mimeograph paper and ink, and covers, are used in the project publications. The Tennessee Survey is sponsored by the Tennessee State Planning Commission and co-sponsored by the cities and counties in which it operates, as well as by several libraries and public institutions. While in administration the project is a state program, it looks to Washington for technical instructions, criticism, and advice, and for approval of its books for publication.

One of the so-called program type projects, the Tennessee Survey is composed of several quasi-independent units—the survey of public archives, the surveys of church records and manuscripts, the imprints inventory, the transcription of selected county records, legal and historical research, and preliminary cleaning, arranging, filing, and labeling in connection with the other units. In Tennessee, as in other states, the entire program of work of the Historical Records Survey has been carried forward with the preponderant consideration that all activities lead to publishable results in the form of inventories, guides, calendars, and other bibliographical keys. The publications of the Survey, while limited in number, are distributed judiciously. Some one hundred institutions in the country receive the publications of all of the Historical Records Survey projects, while some fifty have been designated as regional depositories. In addition, each state has its own intra-state mailing list. In Tennessee, there are approximately fifty persons and institutions on the intra-state mailing list. Only one institution in Tennessee is a national depository,[5] while two are regional depositories.[6] Also, copies of each publication of the Tennessee Survey's county records inventories are placed in the office of each county register. Of course, the county whose records are listed in a county archives publication receives as many copies as are needed by the officials of that county. Every effort is made to meet special requests from within the state for copies of publications, but requests from other states must be referred to Washington.

During the last five years, the number of persons assigned to the Historical Records Survey in Tennessee has varied to a

[5]The Joint University Libraries of Nashville.
[6]The University of Chattanooga Library and Cossitt Library of Memphis for certain Southern and Mississippi Valley states.

marked degree, reaching a peak in 1939 when 350 persons were employed in some seventy-five counties, compared with the twenty assigned in the four urban counties in 1936 and 180 in forty-one counties in the spring of 1941. At least one unit of the Survey has operated in all but nine counties of the state. Approximately ninety per cent of the personnel of the Tennessee Survey is drawn from the certified rolls of the Work Projects Administration. These people, of course, require training, for to them, and to nearly everyone, the technical procedures are both entirely new and complicated, but the accomplishments of the project are evidence of what can be achieved by training, close supervision, and a judicious specialization of duties. Fundamental in the theory and organization of the project is the division of large tasks into many small ones, something akin to assembly-line production.

In operations, the organization of the Historical Records Survey may be described as falling into two phases, the collection of data, and the editing and publication of data. The first phase concerns the field personnel, working in courthouses, libraries, churches, and historical societies, while the second involves chiefly the central editorial office at Nashville, although some editorial work is carried on in the district offices of the project at Chattanooga, Knoxville, and Memphis. The collection of data has far outrun publication of data, chiefly because the size of the central editorial office may not be efficiently increased beyond a certain point. However, a restriction of field work and the strengthening of editorial and publication units is now gradually but definitely closing the gap existing between the collection and the publication of data. Furthermore, the basic data collected in the field are entered, for the most part, on printed forms which are preserved in well ordered files and in time presumably will become part of the National Archives.

For the most part, as in the public archives and church records surveys, technical operations and procedures follow a rather well defined pattern. Field workers in the various counties, working according to specific written instructions and under close supervision, fill out specially designed printed forms and schedules to describe certain records. There are different forms for different types of records, but all provide for full physical descriptions, such as to title, dates covered, labeling, use, content, location, condition, and indexing. When a form is accepted by the editors in the state office, it is transformed into

an entry containing a brief but adequate physical description which may have reference to a record series, a manuscript collection or depository, or a single early American imprint. As the content of an entry is closely defined, one describing a hundred volume series of court minutes may well be no longer than one describing a single small volume kept by the county entry-taker. The Survey in its *Guide to Collections of Manuscripts in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1941), described the Houk Papers, made up of approximately thirty-one thousand pieces, in fewer lines than the Nelson Collection, a collection of approximately six thousand pieces; the Nelson Collection is more varied in content than the Houk Papers, and extends from 1782 to 1922, while the Houk Papers date only from 1870 to 1923.

Foremost in the program of the Tennessee Historical Records Survey is its inventory of county archives. An inventory of the archives of a county consists of preparing physical descriptions of all known and surviving records made by its officials in the transaction of public business. Unwilling to assume responsibility for determining what records may be priceless and what may be rubbish, the project omits nothing. A published county records inventory is a mimeographed book, with an average of about 160 pages, bearing the title *Inventory of the County Archives of Tennessee,* with a subtitle indicating the name of the county whose records are listed. When completed, the county archives series in Tennessee will consist of a ninety-five volume set. Aside from records entries, a county archives inventory contains a brief historical sketch of the county, essay sections on the county's governmental organization and records system, and the housing and care of its records, legal essays on the several county offices and agencies, a chart illustrating the county's administrative organization, floor plans of the courthouse, a map of the county, explanatory notes, bibliography, and chronological and alphabetical indexes. The records descriptions, i. e., the entries, are arranged by offices and agencies and follow the legal essays on the respective offices. An entry for a county record series shows the exact title of the record, an assigned or explanatory title if one is necessary, the years covered, the number of volumes, file boxes or other containers; labeling, purpose for which kept, a description of contents, method of recordation, arrangement, indexing, size, and location. Cross references are made to similar or related records. A typical entry reads as follows:

TRUST DEED RECORD, 1864—. 48 vols. (A-Z, 27-48). Recorded copies of conditional conveyances of real estate, showing names of grantor and grantee, date of instrument, location and description of property, amount of consideration, terms of payment, provisions in case of nonpayment, acknowledgment before notary public, and the register's certificate of recordation. Also contains: Miscellaneous Record Leases, Chattles, Contracts, Charters, 1864-1920, entry 95. Arr. chron. Indexed alph. by name of grantor. Hdw., 1864-1910; typed, 1911—. Aver. 594 pp. 18x13x3. Office.[7]

The Tennessee Survey in April, 1941, had published nine volumes of its county archives series, representing the counties of Bedford, Blount, Bradley, Crockett, Hamilton, Haywood, Loudon, Rutherford, and Wilson. In various stages of completion and scheduled for publication by midsummer were records inventories for the counties of Anderson, Cheatham, Sullivan, and Tipton. In the Anderson and Blount books, however, the plan of using descriptive titles instead of full length entries is followed. Original field inventories had, in April, been made in fifty-five counties.

The county records inventory program has been accompanied by an extensive program of legal research which may now be regarded as virtually completed. Both to construct bases for the inventories' legal sections and to insure the accuracy and completeness of field surveys, the project has abstracted and indexed all legislation, public and private, relating to county government in Tennessee. Each of the two master indexes, one to the public legislation and the other to special enactments, consists of approximately twenty thousand cards. Together they represent a three years' task. Built by the slow process of examining all of the acts and codes enacted since 1715, these indexes and abstracts constitute an indispensable foundation in the public records inventories. Some 120 offices and agencies, many of them now defunct, are represented in the public acts file, while the file on special legislation lists all local acts of any significance, by counties and thereunder by offices. The index to local legislation makes it possible, for example, for the editors to question the field worker who might fail to account for the records of a short-lived special court, having confused them with the records of the circuit court, whose records they closely resemble and into whose custody they have passed.

[7] *Inventory of the County Archives of Tennessee: No. 6, Bradley County* (Nashville, 1941), entry 93.

The Tennessee Survey's inventories of church archives have assumed increasing importance in the program. This survey has as its purpose the publication of archival inventories of churches and religious institutions, issued in denominational series. In addition, the church archives survey publishes directories of churches, missions, and religious institutions as by-products of listings made to insure the completeness of denominational inventories. Such directories have been published for the counties of Davidson, Hamilton, and Shelby. A directory for Knox county is scheduled for publication in the summer of 1941. It is not expected that other directories will be published, except possibly for the counties of Putnam, Sullivan, Washington, and White. The preparation of denominational inventories presents peculiar operating problems, because field surveys are necessarily made by county units, whereas it is preferable that inventories be issued by denominational units, such as the conference, presbytery, and association, whose geographical limits usually extend beyond county boundaries. Therefore, it is necessary to complete the field survey in groups or tiers of counties before inventories can be completed. Field work is not, then, instituted in isolated counties if there is no prospect of making surveys in adjoining and nearby regions. As the church archives survey has already inventoried the holdings of approximately twenty-nine hundred churches, it may be expected that the rate of publication of church archival inventories will greatly increase as loose items are gathered up in various regions of the state.

A church archives entry is more inclusive than a public records entry, in that it consists of the name and location of the church, a brief outline of its history, a description of the church, the number of members, the name of the pastor, brief reference to property valuations, and titles, dates, custody, and location of records. An entry in the inventory of the archives of the churches of the Nashville Baptist Association for a small church is framed as follows:[8]

NEW HOPE CHURCH, 1870—. New Hope Road and Central Pike Hermitage.

Organized January 11, 1870. A small frame building was erected on a two-acre tract given by the first settled pastor, Rev. George Hager, 1871-76. The church was destroyed by fire in 1872, but was replaced by the

[8] *Inventory of the Church Archives of Tennessee: Tennessee Baptist Convention, Nashville Baptist Association* (Nashville, 1939), entry 12.

present red brick building in the same year. The bricks were made and burned on the grounds where the church was erected.

The interior of the church is furnished in light oak, with plastered walls, and a choir loft containing a piano. The windows are of clear glass. In 1936 six Sunday school rooms were added to the main edifice. The auditorium will seat 200 persons. There is a cemetery on the church grounds.

Present pastor, Rev. Clarence D. Creasman, 4600 Dakota Avenue, Nashville; property valuation, $6,000; membership, 268.

Minutes, 1871-84, 1936—, 2 vols.; 1 vol., 1871-84, kept at home of Mrs. Samuel Johnson, Hermitage, Rt. 1; 1 vol., 1936—, in custody of John E. Burris, Church Clerk, 322 Elberta Avenue, Nashville. Register (membership, baptisms, withdrawals), 1871—, 1 vol., in custody of John E. Burris. Financial Records (receipts and disbursements), 1930—, 1 vol., in custody of Kelly Gleaves, Donelson, Woman's Missionary Society Records (minutes), 1924—, 1 vol., in custody of Mrs. Hilton Peeke, Hermitage.

Already published is an inventory of the archives of the churches of the Nashville Baptist Association of the Tennessee Baptist Convention.[9] In the spring of 1941 inventories of the archives of the churches of the Nashville District of The Methodist Church, the Ocoee Baptist Association, the Memphis Presbytery of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, and the Knox County Baptist Association, and an inventory of the archives of the Jewish Congregations of Tennessee were being prepared. Only a few of the faiths, unfortunately, lend themselves to statewide treatment.

The smallest but most highly specialized unit of the Tennessee Survey has been the manuscripts program which has produced two publications, the *Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections In Tennessee* (Nashville, 1940), and the *Guide to Collections of Manuscripts in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1941). The *Depository Guide,* the project's only printed publication, is the Tennessee volume of a nationwide series. In it are described fifteen depositories in the state. While the number is small, of nearly two hundred potential depositories visited or circularized, all but fifteen were determined not to be true depositories of manuscripts, as distinguished from institutional archives.[10] The *Depository Guide* entries show, in an introduc-

[9]Nashville, 1939.

[10]The fifteen are the Chattanooga Public Library, Hall of Holography and Lincoln Room of Lincoln Memorial University, Lawson McGhee Library, University of Tennessee Library, Cossitt Library, Goodwyn Institute Library, Fisk University Library, George Peabody College for Teachers Library, Publishing House of the Methodist Church Library, Tennessee Historical Society, Tennessee State Library, Vanderbilt Medical Library, General Library of Vanderbilt University, and University of the South Library.

tory statement, the name of the depository, its address, the name of custodian, and hours and conditions of access, followed by a brief history of the depository, statements as to policy and field of specialization, and conditions of housing. The holdings are described briefly and, insofar as possible, by collections, with indications of the title, dates, quantity, and general contents. Depository entries vary in length from a lew lines for smaller institutions to three pages for such depositories as the Lawson McGhee and Tennessee State Libraries.

The *Manuscript Collection Guide* consists of considerably more detailed descriptions of sixty-one collections, most of which are listed in the *Depository Guide* and a few of which are in private hands.

The American imprints inventory is one of the most interesting phases of the program of the Historical Records Survey. With the dependance for an accurate record of events that modern historical research places on contemporary sources, extensive supplements to the existing records, as found in the monumental works of Evans and Sabin,[11] are necessary.

A nationwide program, the imprints inventory seeks to supply these supplements by locating every book, pamphlet, broadside, or other item printed in the United States before 1877. The procedure in the imprints inventory calls for the transcription and then the typing on specially designed forms of all titles falling within the date limits. Copies of the imprints forms are transmitted to the Chicago office of the Survey Program and are, in turn, forwarded to the Library of Congress to be placed in that library's Union Catalogue. Aside from placing copies of the cards in the Union Catalogue, the imprints survey is publishing check lists for the various states, usually by decades, showing all known locations of materials printed within the state. In Tennessee, the Survey, deciding not to wait until it would be possible to issue a full-length check list, in the spring of 1941 issued its preliminary *List of Tennessee Imprints,* 1793-1840, *Found in Tennessee Libraries* (Nashville, 1941). It is planned that full-length check lists with location references from throughout the country will be issued subsequently. While the imprints program in Tennessee has been operated in only ten counties, the field work may

[11]Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (Chicago, 1903-34); Joseph Sabin, Wilberforce Eames, and R. W. G. Zail, *Bibliotheca Americana; Dictionary of Books Relating to America* (New York, 1868-1936).

be regarded as approximately seventy per cent complete, as the holdings of practically all of the larger libraries have been processed. Approximately 375 collections have been inventoried and an estimated eighty thousand titles listed.

The Tennessee Survey has also operated a program which transcribes certain carefully selected county records as a meaure of preservation as well as to make such records more accessible for research purposes in centrally located libraries.[12] This unit is now concentrating on the typing of original longhand transcriptions. Transcriptions of two particularly significant volumes transcribed by this unit have been mimeographed in a limited number of copies.[13]

In addition to publications of county and church archives inventories, church directories, manuscript guides, and imprints check lists, the Tennessee Survey has published, and will continue to do so, special bulletins consisting of materials largely as they appear in the project's files. Bulletins of the project's Special Publications Series include *Directory of Libraries in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1939), *History and Organization of the Shelby County Judiciary* (Nashville, 1939), *Summary of General Highway Legislation in Tennessee During the Period* 1881-1909 (Nashville, 1940), *Summary of Special Legislation Relating to the Government of Sullivan County* (Nashville, 1940), *Check List of Acts and Codes of the State of Tennessee* (Nashville, 1940), and *Outline of Development of Methodism in Tennessee* (Nashville, 1940).

If the Tennessee Survey has made any contribution which looks to the preservation of public records, it has been chiefly in connection with its programs of cleaning and arranging of records, a preliminary, and usually necessary, step before a county records inventory can be made. The conditions of noncurrent records are well known, but encouraging is the attitude custodians take when enabled to obtain the Survey's assistance in bringing about better order. There has been, after all, only a negligible amount of deliberate destruction of records compared with that assignable to vermin, acts of God, and the deadly processes of time. The great majority of county officials

[12]The Tennessee State Library, the University of Tennessee Library, and the Library of Congress. Copies are usually deposited in the counties for administrative use.

[13]The first volumes of the minutes of the courts of pleas and quarter sessions of Knox and Shelby counties.

have cooperated to their utmost, as undoubtedly they should, in bringing about better conditions of housing, storage, and filing. The Survey has, on occasion, supervised the arrangement and storage of records of officials moving into new courthouses. After methods for the better safekeeping of records have been pointed out, the counties of Tennessee have invested several thousand dollars in new shelving, files, jackets, congress ties, and the like. The benevolent attitude of records custodians had not, however, altered the fact that in some instances archival practices were quite primitive. In the first days of the county records survey, it was not infrequent that records rooms and vaults housed a mixture of archives, rats, and mice—the quick and the dead—corn, oats, beds, paint, and other articles. In one case, the swords and robes of a secret order were filed with the dockets of the chancery court, while in another blood-stained garments—exhibited in a murder trial—had apparently become a permanent part of the record of the proceedings of the circuit court. In these instances, shovels, disinfectant, and insecticides were employed. The finding of the records of a local court under the bed of the clerk, an invalid, and of unbound papers in kettles of damp mash into which they had been thrown through a trap door by the janitor—these situations and scores of similar ones were not uncommon. The Tennessee Survey has had its part in cleansing the Augean Stables of the Law.

The future of the Historical Records Survey Program depends on many factors, chief among them being its ability to continue to increase the rate of publication and to channel its efforts into defense activities. In five years, the Survey in Tennessee has published some thirty books; of these, almost a third were released in the first four months of 1941. Under normal conditions, the rate could be expected to continue to rise, as well it may. Already, however, there are indications that the resources of the project will be directed into the defense program, as they should be if its experience with public archives and their maintenance and its nationwide organization can be put to such purposes.[14]

[14]The Tennessee Historical Records Survey has recently undertaken the preparation of a guide to public vital statistics in Tennessee, to be one of a nationwide series. Publication is scheduled for June, 1941.

PAPERS FROM THE SPANISH ARCHIVES RELATING TO TENNESSEE AND THE OLD SOUTHWEST, 1783-1800

Translated and Edited *By*

D. C. CORBITT and ROBERTA CORBITT*

(Continued from East Tennessee Historical Society's Publications, Nos. 9, 10, 11, and 12)

V—January, 1788—February, 1788

[Translation]

EZPELETA TO MIRÓ, HAVANA, JANUARY 3, 1788[1]

No. 0

By the Gazettes and the enclosed copies you will learn the news which Don Diego Gardoqui, Chargé d' Affaires in the United States, has communicated to me. It does not confirm the misgivings that that City [New Orleans] has been attacked by the enraged Americans, and even if it were possible, it could not happen in so short a time. The undertaking is as difficult as it is great: therefore we must continue to get information which will throw light on that design, so that we may have time to prepare properly. Meanwhile you will take all precautions possible and, in case immediate action is necessary, I shall furnish you the necessary assistance . . . .

Joseph de Ezpeleta

Estevan Miró.

[On the margin:]

Resolutions about the Attack on New Orleans.

[Translation]

GARDOQUI TO EZPELETA, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 12, 1787 (ENCLOSURE)[2]

My dear Sir: By the official correspondence which I carry on with His Excellency, the Conde de Gálvez, you will have seen that since my first Letter of August 23, 1785, I have insisted that, because of the situation in the United States, and the ambitious views of thousands of its inhabitants, our frontiers be kept in the best possible condition against surprise.

Although it is to return to a vexatious note, I have constantly repeated the same opinion when I thought I could excuse myself to you for

*For the editor's introduction see the beginning of the first installment of these "Papers" in the East Tennessee Historical Society's *Publications*, No. 9 (1937), 111-12. With few exceptions the letters printed are from transcripts and photostats of papers selected by A. P. Whitaker from the Papeles de Cuba in the Archivo General de Indias (hereafter cited A. G. I., P. C.), Seville, Spain, for the McClung Collection in the Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

[1]A. G. I., P. C., 2352

[2]A. F. I., P. C., 2352. Enclosed in Ezpeleta to Miro, Havanna, January 3, 1788.

renewing it, and I see the necessity of confirming the same again, placing in your hands the proof of my fears.

On the afternoon of the 10th of this month I received a Letter from Mr. John Jay, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the United States, enclosing another from one John Sullivan,[3] written to Major William Brown, which by chance came into the hands of Oliver Pollock,[4] and he made an exact copy of it and presented it [to Mr. John Jay] to be communicated to this Government.

By both letters (of which I enclose copies, and translations) you will note the delicacy of this matter which obliges me to communicate it to you.

Knowing the present State of this Country, I doubt if human understanding can fathom the root from which it springs, because, being almost without Government, without a Treasury, or means of obtaining money, and torn between hope and fear of whether or not their Confederation can be consolidated (which is the great object that interests them now) what they tell us seems doubtful.

Nevertheless I have examined it [the letter], and inquired into everything within reach, and especially all that concerns the frontier States, mistrusting everything, and I confess that after the most mature reflections I find no reason for the slightest foundation [for fearing an attack].

I have conferred personally with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, General Knox, the Minister of War, and the Secretary of Congress, who are the only ones working at present, while there is no Congress for lack of the Members that compose it, and I find a uniformity of opinion among them and surprise at such a report, which they attribute to insanity, and to the hatred of some Bandits.

Although the Minister of War has promised me on his part to use all the means that his limited powers give him to stifle the attempt under discussion, it is impossible for me to watch what goes on there because I am at a great distance from the Country where it is said that it is to be projected. Mountains and wildernesses lie between, and there is a lack of communication; therefore I have resolved to send His Majesty's Express

[3]Jay's letter is printed below. Sullivan's letter, with profanity omitted, is printed in *American State Papers, Foreign Relations,* I, 281. A copy is found in State Department Archives of the National Archives (U.S.), Negotiation Book, No. 125, Continental Congress Papers, pp. 153-54. A Spanish translation is in A. G. I., P. C., 2352 (photostat in the McClung Collection). Sullivan's letter, dated Charleston, September 24, 1787, was to his friend Major William Brown, late of the Maryland Artillery. Brown was urged to secure a tract of land in Franklin, where he "could live more at . . . ease" than anywhere else in America. He was told that there was work cut out for him in the Western country. "Take my word for it," said Sullivan, "we will be speedily in possession of New Orleans."

[4]Oliver Pollock, a native of Ireland but a resident of Philadelphia, went to Havana in 1762 and established himself as a merchant. He moved to New Orleans about 1768, where he rendered valuable services as agent of the revolting American colonies. He was sent to Havana in 1783 as commercial agent of the United States, but left in 1784 after having been arrested because of some obligations he had assumed during the Revolution. At the time he obtained Sullivan's letter he was in Philadelphia trying to collect debts owed him by the United States. Since he was still interested in trading in New Orleans, his attitude toward Sullivan can be explained. See Herminio Portell Vila, *Historia de Cuba en sus relaciones con los Estados Unidos y Espana* (4 vols., Havana, 1938-40, I, 60-112, and James Alton James, *Oliver Pollock; The Life and Times of an Unknown Patriot* (New York and London, 1937).

[el Ynfante?] under the command of Don Jorge Larreset, to carry you this Letter, which I shall conclude with some details about the said John Sullivan, for your information.

Last August he sent me a Letter from Savannah, dated in March, which dealt with threats of the same kind: but having informed myself about the circumstances of this Person, I was assured that he was a daring, turbulent young Irishman, without talent or possibilities, or connections that could give them to him.

Without entirely depreciating the matter, I complained officially to Congress against the author, because of what he had written and published in the Charleston Gazette.[5]

That Body unanimously answered me, manifesting its sentiments, asserting that the said letter was reprehensible, and promising that the writer should be prosecuted according to the Laws of the Land, and that it would try to stop any disorder that tended to disturb the friendship that happily exists between the two Nations.

As a consequence of this I have been assured that a secret order has been sent to Sullivan by the Minister of War.

By reason of this I also know that at the end of the War, in which this Person was a Captain of Dragoons in the American Army, he was one of the leaders in the rebellion of the Troops against Congress which surrounded its Government House in Philadelphia, and was finally the cause of that Body's leaving that City.

Since then this adventurer, and an infinite number of others in this Country, have been without means of a livelihood, and consequently have been in a kind of despair, ready to attempt anything.

From all that has been said you will infer that the aforesaid John Sullivan and a large number of men in like circumstances, on the Banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi, may have united, entertaining vain hopes, since the general opinion of this Country is one of depreciation of the strength of our frontiers.

It happens that the new County of Franklin in the State of North Carolina is in a great part in revolt, for which reason it would not be strange if that ungoverned People projected some such excess.

I have studied with some care the distances and the means which they might plan to use, and I find that the most probable route would be by the Tennessee River, the current of which can take them to the Ohio, and the

[5]The obnoxious material referred to seems to have been the unsigned "Extract of a letter written by a Gentleman of the State of Franklin, to an Officer in Georgia," dated "Tennessee, in the State of Franklin, June 10, 1787," published in the *Charleston Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, June 29, 1787. The author of the letter hoped that the activities of the Spaniards among the Creeks, and their usurpations of territory and navigation rights, would "rouse the Georgians to retaliate on the Dons at Natchez, and New Orleans." He added, "in such events, no doubt can exist, but that the hardy warriors of Franklin, Kentucky, and those of all the other settlements on the western waters, will effectually cooperate in such a measure. And were the force of 30,000 men, necessary to execute the project of subjugating the Creeks, storming New Orleans, and opening the navigation of the Mississippi, such force could, I am persuaded be called forth, and with alacrity would turn out from the state and settlements just mentioned."

currents of that River and the Mississippi to the intended destination, which as you know is a very roundabout course.

The route by land I consider impracticable for a large Body of People because of the obstacles presented by the rugged mountains and swampy lands five hundred miles across, and your superior intelligence will know how to draw the best conclusions from these things, and I expect your talent and activity, not only to prevent any surprise, but to punish with a strong hand the rabble that plans it, for it would be very helpful in the present state of our affairs for them to be thoroughly punished.

For this reason I send you Duplicates of my last letters of the 22nd and 23rd of last month, which went by way of St. Augustine, and I conclude by saying that there is no other news in this Country, the greater part of whose Inhabitants seem inclined to adopt the new Plan of Government, but at any rate I shall remain in this City to advise you of anything important that occurs; for which reason it would be well, if you have no other service more important, to send me the Express as quickly as possible, because there is none here . . . .

Diego de Gardoqui = Don Josef de Ezpeleta

A copy. Havana, January 3, 1788. Francisco Soiselo

[Translation]

JAY TO GARDOQUI, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 10, 1787 (ENCLOSURE)[6]

Gardoqui. New York 10th Novemr. 1787

Dr. Sir.

Congress not being at present convened, I cannot take their Orders on a Subject of a Paper I received yesterday in the afternoon—I am however perfectly convinced of their Friendship for his Catholic Majesty, and of their Desire to give him proofs of it, whenever Opportunities of doing it may offer. As that Paper contains Matters interesting to Spain, I think it my Duty to transmit to you a Copy of it herewith enclosed.—

Whether the Enterprize it alludes to is really in Contemplation or not, cannot yet be decided; the Intimation however appears to me to be sufficient to engage Attention, and to render Precautions expedient.—

I communicated it this Morning to Genl. Knox—He will immediately direct proper Measures to be taken to frustrate the proposed Attempt. I have likewise conferred with the Secretary of Congress on the same Subject; and it gives me Pleasure to assure you, that nothing on our Parts shall be wanting to promote the Wishes and Views of Congress, to cherish and confirm the Confidence and Friendship which happily subsist between his Catholic Majesty and them.—

I have the Honor to be &c;

Copy. (signed) John Jay

[6]State Department Archives of the National Archives (U.S.), Negotiation Book No. 125, Continental Congress Papers, pp. 152-53. A Spanish translation is in A. G. I., P. C., 2352 (photostat in the McClung Collection). It was enclosed to Ezpeleta to Miro, January 3, 1788 along with a translation of Sullivan's letter cited in footnote 23.

[Translation]

ZÉSPEDES TO VALDÉS, ST. AUGUSTINE, JANUARY 16, 1788[7]

Number 4 Most Excellent Sir

In consequence of the arrival here, at the beginning of last Month, of the person mentioned in my confidential letter number 2 of the 21st of November last, I ordered that he be cross-examined, the results of which I enclose to Your Excellency under number 1 the contents of which in substance, will clarify very little what is stated by this same person in his letter of the 9th of the said November, for all the new information reduces itself to showing the sinister intention with which one Thomas Brown[8] has gone to the Island of Trinidad; To indicating Colonel Tate[9] as the Head of the Conspiracy; and to showing the relationship of Captain Farragut[10] and the said Brown: So that what is communicated, given due importance, would have inspired me with little Faith had I not received later from Don Diego de Gardoqui the letter which I copy to Your Excellency under number 2, the tenor of which affirms the same intention of my informant. It remains only to believe that the long illness of the latter, who, it is plain, was not completely well when he arrived here, has prevented him from being in some of the Conventions of the conspirators to learn the bottom of the project: Since he leaves here in time to be present at the Convention set for the first of this year, I trust to obtain opportunely, through him, the latest news about such malevolent designs; for which purpose all possible measures have been taken, even to establishing a Code, with my knowledge, between him and Don Carlos Howard,[11] the Secretary here.

[7]A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17.

[8]Thomas Brown of New York. See the declaration of Thomas Powell below. He may have been the person of that name who was the first quartermaster of the fort or blockhouse built at Southwest Point (a point of land at the junction of the Clinch with the Tennessee at Kingston, Tennessee) in 1791-1792. See Steiner and Schweinetz Report of 1799, in S. C. Williams, *Early Travels in the Tennessee Country*, 1540-1800 (Johnson City, 1928), 379, note.

[9]Colonel William Tate, later engaged by Genet. E. Wilson Lyon, *Louisiana in French Diplomacy*, 1759-1804 (Norman, Okla., 1934), 73.

[10]George Farragut was born in Minorca in 1755. After an adventurous life on the sea under several flags, he entered the Revolution on the American side, serving South Carolina in the navy and as a volunteer under Marion, and was later a captain of North Carolina cavalry. In 1792 Governor William Blount appointed him a major of militia. He remained in Tennessee until 1807, when he entered the United States navy, where he remained until the end of the War of 1812. See the biographical sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*. The *State Records of North Carolina*, XVIII, 24, 257, refer to him as a native of France.

[11]Carlos Howard, a native of Ireland, entered the Spanish army in 1761 as a cadet in the Irish Infantry Regiment. After serving in Portugal, Algiers, Brazil, and Santo Domingo, he was sent to St. Augustine as secretary of the government of East Florida. The last position he held for eleven years, retaining his commission in the army. During that period he was sent on several important missions. Noteworthy was his journey to New York in 1790, ostensibly for his health, but actually to try to counteract American influence with McGillivray during the negotiation of the Treaty of New York. He left the secretaryship in 1793 to lead troops against the Creeks. During 1794-95 he commanded the forces opposing the Genet-Elijah Clarke machinations against East Florida. In 1797 he was entrusted with the delicate task of evacuating the fort at Chickasaw Bluffs without alarming the Indians. This, according to his service record, "he discharged with such care and activity that, in the short space of fifteen days, he evacuated and destroyed the said Fort, and transferred all the Artillery, Stores, Food, and effects to the opposite side of the Mississippi River, where he built two Blockhouses, surrounding them with the necessary Stock-

Notwithstanding the fact the the said informant has not corroborated in the Cross-examination with the proofs that I demanded of him in my letter of September 12, last, what he alleged in his above mentioned letter of November 9, I have always been persuaded that a similar Conspiracy, without the support of either Congress or the government of any one of the thirteen States, was to be feared from the Adventurers, who, living inland on the Tennessee, Shawnee and Ohio rivers, unknown to any legal authority, are ready to try anything, however daring it may be, which their insubordination may suggest to them. I have thought, therefore, that it would be well to oblige him, in spite of the resistance that he really or affectedly made to receiving any gratification whatever, to accept one hundred *pesos,* to pay for his coming, his board here, and his return, drawing the amount from the treasury for a secret matter of the Royal service, of which I gave an account to His Majesty. I also assured the said informant, trusting to the royal benignity, that if at any time he should be in danger as a result of imparted certain and satisfactory news of the conspirators that he might give from now on he would find in the Dominions of His Majesty the convenient asylum that he solicited in his Cross-examination; But that to obtain such a favor, it was indispensable for him to be present at some Convention, in order to understand the designs of the associates, or to give notice of the embarkation of Farragut for Spanish America, the Port of his destination, and the exact object of his voyage, he himself accompanying him, if necessary, and informing me of it in the manner agreed upon for his own safety, be it at the time of embarkation in the United States or on disembarking in our Indies. He also added the condition (to which I agreed, counting always on the clemency and magnanimity of the King) that I must promise him, in the name of His Majesty, that, in case Farragut should be captured in the Spanish Dominions, neither he nor his traveling companion should be given the Death penalty, for he (the informant) was moved to reveal the plans of the conspirators with the sole motive of avoiding human bloodshed; it was against his principles, and would cause him perpetual remorse, to contribute to the death, although merited, of a man who had confided in him as had Farragut.

In the Cross-examination the circumstances and connections of the informant were insisted upon, with the particular idea of leaving the field open for whatever inquiry you, if you should see fit to do so, might order made of the informant, or of the conspiracy in general, by the chargé d' affaires in New York (to whom I will communicate everything however insignificant, even though it be necessary to send a person in whom I have confidence) or by any other person whom you may approve, and your enlightened superior understanding will decide whether or not it will be well to send some trustworthy and sagacious person to reside in the Southern

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ades." He then went to St. Louis to put it in a state of defence against a possible attack from Canada. This was scarcely done before he was ordered down the river to prevent the Americans from seizing the lower posts before Spain was ready to give them up. He became commander of the Regiment of Louisiana in 1800, which position he held during the remainder of his career. He was acting governor of West Florida for part of 1806 during an illness of Governor Folch. A. N. C., Florida, legajo 1, No. 1; legajo 4, No. 44; and legajo 6, No. 3. His name will appear frequently in later papers to be translated from the McClung Collection.

States of America in the capacity of Consul, subordinate to the said chargé: Charleston seems to me the most central location, and it is the Seaport at which Boats of our Commerce stop from time to time because of damages, real or pretended.

The Paper, which is enclosed to Your Excellency under number 3, was printed (as I understand) in the Gazette of Richmond, Virginia, on May 20 of last year.[12] It is of such a nature that I did not permit myself to delay it for investigation, because on account of the nature of its contents I feel myself obligated to forward it to you immediately in case it has not been brought to Your attention in some other way, having no doubt myself that it is the infamous product of some of the chiefs of the indicated Conspiracy.

All that is stated I communicate under the present number, date, and secrecy, to my immediate Superior, Don José de Ezpeleta.

Duplicate Vizente Manuel de Zéspedes.

His Excellency Señor Bailio Don Antonio Valdés.

[Translation]

DECLARATION OF THOMAS POWELL, ST. AUGUSTINE, DECEMBER 21, 1787 (ENCLOSURE)[13]

Number 1.

Corresponds to Confidential representation number 4.

Copy of the translation of the Cross-examination of Mr. Thomas Powell, about the contents of his letter of November 9 last, sent to the Court, and to Captain-General Don José de Ezpeleta, in confidential representation number 2 of the 21st of the said November.

Question . . When he had the first notice of the matter treated in the said letter.

Reply . . . In June of last year, in a place called North Fork (*Horquilla Septentrional*) of the Edisto River, in Orange County, South Carolina, in a conversation with Captain Farragut.

Question . . At what time, and for what reason was he acquainted with the said Farragut.

Reply . . . He knew him slightly at the end of the last War, the acquaintance ripening in the year 1784 because the witness was obliged, on account of the scarcity of hard Money, to take goods in payment of some Debts: These the Witness handed over to the Captain, who was then unemployed, to sell, on the condition that the profits be divided: This cemented their connection, and produced an intimacy which

[12]The editors have been unable to locate a copy of the paper indicated. Members of the staffs of the Richmond Public Library, the State Library of Virginia, the Library of Congress, the Library of the New York Historical Society, the Charleston Public Library, and the Library of the Georgia Historical Society, have kindly assisted in the search.

[13]A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17. Enclosed in Zespedes to Valdes, January 16, 1788.

resulted in the witness' going in the Month of June, 1786, from Charleston to the said North Fork, to settle some accounts with Farragut. The latter began to drop hints about being agitated by a very important secret, which, after some days, and after having exacted the most solemn promises of secrecy, he revealed to the witness, informing him that a number of Gentlemen, men of resolution and property, had decided to undertake an enterprise against the Spanish Settlements, and at the same time to encourage the said Vassals to shake off the Yoke under which they groaned, and join them in order to win their independence as the Americans had by revolting against the British: Farragut continued by telling the witness that a certain Colonel Tate, residing in the aforecited Orange County, was the one who had first divulged the matter to him, and that he, Farragut, would introduce the Witness to the said Colonel, who, Farragut was certain, would approve of it, chiefly because the Witness had served in the American Army; But that it would be necessary for the witness to subscribe something for the advancement of the enterprise. The witness replied that Farragut was well informed of his resources, and consequently knew that these were limited almost entirely to the amounts that the State of South Carolina owed him because of the war, which debts ascended to nearly three thousand Pounds Sterling, but that these, if they were admitted, he would willingly subscribe:—Farragut said that this would be sufficient, and the witness agreed to accompany Farragut to be presented to Colonel Tate, as soon as he, the witness, should return from Charleston, where he had to settle some business first:—In fact he started for Charleston with the intention of returning immediately: But after arriving there he was taken sick and remained suffering from tertian until the following December, nor did he begin to recover his strength until the following May, and even yet is in delicate health:—During the illness of the witness Farragut came to Charleston in the Month of November to see him, and told him that his plan was to accompany him to a convention that was soon to be held in the State of North Carolina about the matter in question: Which convention, as the witness understands, was the first held about the matter indicated; but the illness from which the witness was then suffering did not permit him to accompany Farragut: The latter then said to the witness that since he had been with him in the Country he had seen Colonel Tate, and that the Colonel had told him that it was his plan to propose him, Farragut, to the convention, as the proper person, because of the Languages that he spoke, to go to South America (the Americans in General call their Country North America, and by South America is understood all the Spanish possessions).[14] Farragut added that he had proposed to Colonel Tate to take the witness with him, because he was the person in whom he had most confidence for the business:—The aforecited illness of the witness not only kept him from accompanying Farragut to the Convention, but incapacitated him also for giving attention to some Maps that Farragut gave him for his inspection: But the witness remembered that they were made with a Pen, and that at least two thirds of the Territory represented was situated on the Spanish side of the Mississippi River:—Farragut left soon afterward for the convention: But the witness does not know the time set for its meeting:

[14]The statement in parentheses was a marginal note in the original.

From that time the witness knew nothing more of Farragut, until the Month of March of this year, when the latter arrived in Charleston by night, and remained three days in the city, during which time the witness went to Farragut's lodging by day, and the latter visited the witness by night: The witness also asserts, that, although Farragut knew many persons in the City, he neither saw, nor spoke to any of them at any time, nor was it known that such a person had come to the City, since he also left it by night.

Question . . What reason did Farragut show for keeping so much secrecy in Charleston.

Reply . . . The witness said that Farragut had left the house in North Fork with the declared intention, which he carried out, of going to North Carolina; For the same reason he did not think it proper that his Uncle, and Family, with whom he lived, and who were ignorant of the project in question, should know that he had returned to South Carolina, and had even passed through Charleston, without going home.

Question . . From what land is Farragut's Uncle, what is his name, and is either of the two married.

Reply . . . Both are Foreigners, Italians by Nationality,[15] so the witness thinks, although he does not affirm it, but they speak English incorrectly:—The uncle is a widower with two sons, and is named Gaspar Trotty. The Nephew is a bachelor.

Question . . What else passed between the witness and Farragut during the indicated three days.

Reply . . . Farragut informed the witness That the convention had been held and that he was present, and that he had been appointed by virtue of the recommendation of Colonel Tate, to go to South America, and the witness was approved as a proper person to accompany him. He expressed regrets at the same time that the witness had not been able to attend in person:—Farragut added that the convention had found it convenient to add a third person to the Commission, leaving the appointment of the party to the choice of Farragut and the witness:—But the third person should be proposed in the first convention for approval:—Farragut also informed the witness that a certain Thomas Brown, intimately known to, and previously a schoolmate of the witness, had been sent by Colonel Tate to the Island of Trinidad by way of St. Eustatius Island, to become a Spanish Vassal there, and to set up a Restaurant or Lodging-house in order to advance the ideas of the plan in question:—That Brown had received Money from Colonel Tate for that purpose previous to the meeting of the convention, and that the convention had repaid the Money advanced:—It seems that Brown bought a Schooner to carry him to St. Eustatius (for the witness had learned from other sources that he sold such a Vessel there) and continued to Trinidad in the company of a person who was a native of New England,

[15]See note 10.

who was to be a partner with him in the Lodging-house:—During the three days he was in Charleston, Farragut showed the witness a memorandum agreed upon in the convention:—It included instructions for encouraging the People to move toward the interior Settlements in the vicinity of the Ohio River, and to induce them to do it by exaggerating the fertility of the lands that were obtainable at a low price, or for nothing:—He stated that the number of troops to be furnished by the states of South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, was the same as that mentioned by the witness in the letter to the Governor of this City on November 9 last:—In the same convention it was decided that when the Troops were ready, they should assemble in the vicinity of Natchez, and that, in order to furnish them with the necessary supplies, there had been deposited in Colonel Tate's hands, a Subscription of a hundred thousand Pounds Sterling, in products of the said three States; Said products to be sent to Europe to be exchanged for the necessary articles:—The witness heard nothing more of Farragut after his departure from Charleston until the month of June, when he received a letter from him in North Carolina, asking him to settle the pending business quickly, and to dispose of it in such a way as to be ready to be with him, Farragut, in North Carolina during the whole Month of January of the coming year 1788:—That there had been held a second convention, in which Colonel Tate had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the proposed expedition with the power to appoint a Subordinate Commander for North Carolina, and another for Virginia; But Farragut did not mention their names:—That from Kentucky all the Food for the Troops, except Salt, would be taken, and that they [the states mentioned] had in themselves all the materials, except Nails, for the construction of the Boats necessary to go down the Ohio and to explore the Western waters. These two articles, Salt and Nails, would be obtained elsewhere:—That Traders had been sent among the Indians, in order to predispose them in favor of the project, and to carry out the Orders that would be sent to them from time to time:—Farragut's letter also asserted that the Spanish Creoles were longing for liberty, and would receive the adventurers with open arms:—That he, Farragut, had been provided with Books suitable for the projected journey South, and reported that the prospect was glorious, and that they, Farragut, the witness, and the third person, were to start the next spring.

Question . . To what part of Spanish America did Farragut plan to go.

Reply . . . The witness does not know the exact place; he knows only that it was Farragut's intention to go to some of the Spanish Islands, and from there to make his way to the Continent.

Question . . If the witness, or Farragut knows how difficult it is for a Foreigner to gain admittance into the Spanish Ports in America.

Reply . . . Both were informed and talked of the difficulties, but Farragut said that he would overcome them by procuring letters of recommendation that would facilitate entrance.

Question . . What other persons besides those already named are complicated in the enterprise.

Reply . . . He knows with certainty of only the three already mentioned; To wit; Colonel Tate, whose Christian Name he does not know, George Farragut, and Thomas Brown; But he thinks that Major Tate, brother of the Colonel, a certain Dickens, or Dickinson, and a Somebody [*Fulano*] Morgan,[16] both of Virginia, And also Captains O-Sullivan and Anderson are included; And the witness adds that, having manifested to Farragut a desire to know who were the principal persons complicated, the latter replied that he should suspend his curiosity until he was with them in Convention.

Question . . If he knows who are the persons designated to go to Europe to exchange the products of the Country for Arms &c.: If any have gone yet, and to what Kingdoms and Ports.

Reply . . . He does not know who they are, but is personally satisfied that one or more has already gone, probably to London, and he bases this belief on the fact that some two Months ago a considerable quantity of indigo from the interior was taken to Charleston, where it was shipped to London, without the mediation of any Merchant or Broker whatever; A thing that is uncommon, and contrary to the Commercial usage of That Port.

Question . . From what nation is Captain Farragut, and tell his Religion, Age, Trade, and Property.

Reply . . . The witness has already stated that he thinks, although he cannot affirm it, that Farragut is an Italian, His Religion is Roman Catholic; His age some thirty years, and as for his Trade, he was brought up a sailor, and for some time during the last War he had command of an American galley, and afterwards became a Captain of Cavalry: The witness has no exact information about his property; But it is certain that he is the Owner of several pieces of rich Land in South Carolina, and that the State of North Carolina owes him a sum of Money.

Question . . What kind of a man is Farragut, that is, a description of his person is asked for.

Reply . . . He must be about five feet nine inches, English measure (About five feet four inches Spanish Measure)[17]: His color dark brunette: His Hair which he wears in a cue, black: His face thin: His eyes black, and he has a noticeable mark below the elbow on his left Arm, of which he does not have perfect use because some bones were extracted from it as a result of a gunshot wound in the War.

Question . . Who is the third person that should accompany Farragut to Spanish America.

Reply . . . The person has not yet been chosen.

[16]Probably Colonel George Morgan who in 1789 founded New Madrid in what is now Missouri. "Fulano" Morgan is the Spanish equivalent of "Somebody" Morgan.

[17]The statement in parentheses was a marginal note in the original.

Question . . A description of Thomas Brown is requested.

Reply . . . He is a native of the State of New York, his Religion Protestant, his age some twenty-three years, his height about five feet eleven inches, English measure: His physique good, his face handsome, his hair light chestnut, his eyes blue: The witness does not know that he has any particular marks.

Question . . According to what the witness has stated only three States are included in the project in question against the Spanish Indies; Notwithstanding, it is strange that Georgia is not of the number, because, of all of the States, this one is nearest the Mississippi River, and also claims the District of Natchez as its own: Having, as though it were its own, constituted it a County in the year 1784 with the name of Bourbon.

Reply . . . He does not believe that Georgia is included, for when Captain Farragut mentioned the said three States to the witness, he could have had no apparent motive for keeping quiet about the fourth.

Question . . If he has heard it said, or if he knows that there has been held, or is going to be held, in Kentucky any Convention of the new Western Settlements.

Reply . . . Nothing of the kind has come to his notice.

Question . . In his letter of November 8 he says that he thinks the project was first formed in Kentucky: Explain the reasons on which that idea was based.

Reply . . . He based it on Captain Farragut's having said to him that the Supplies for the Troops had to be taken from that District, adding, that when the three States indicated raised the Stipulated number of Troops, they would be reenforced by others from Kentucky.

Question . . If he knows the motives Farragut had for asserting that the American Adventurers would be received with open Arms by the Spanish Creoles.

Reply . . . The first time that Farragut mentioned such a thing was in his letter of last June already mentioned; Since then the witness has not seen him to question him about the matter.

Question . . If he has the said letter in his possession, if he answered it, if he has a copy of the reply, or what was its tenor.

Reply . . . He tore up Farragut's letter, and did not keep a copy for himself, But its tenor was to the effect that he had received the letter and that he would carry out the things stated in it.

Question . . What motive had he for tearing up Farragut's letter, and for not keeping a copy for himself.

Reply . . . Because he and Farragut, when the latter was in Charleston in November, 1786, had agreed that whatever letters

passed between them about the enterprise should be destroyed as soon as they were informed of their contents, both preferring to trust their memories rather than take risks; And the witness added that when he answered the said letter he was firmly resolved to go ahead with the enterprise.

Question . . When, and for what reason, did he change his mind.

Reply . . . A very short time before writing his first letter to the Governor here. He was induced to do so by having seriously reflected, during some lonely walks, about the calamities in which he had seen his country involved in the struggle for independence. This caused him to consider that similar sad consequences would result from the projected agitation and might finally end in a War between Spain and North America; Therefore the desire to impede the shedding of human Blood caused him to decide to have nothing to do with such a business: In fact, he resolved to write as much to Farragut, solemnly promising him that he would forever keep secret what he knew about the matter; But it occurred to the witness, after having pondered over the results of this determination, that by keeping secret the promotion of the enterprise would not be stopped, and that consequently he would always be, to a certain extent, an accomplice to the bloody results: In order to prevent such a difficulty, the idea first occurred to him of writing an anonymous letter to the Governor; But, after reflecting well on such a move, he was assailed with misgivings that the Governor, in view of the anonymous information, would try to fathom the matter, and for that purpose would try to trace the Penmanship, and as the witness was generally known in the State of South Carolina, becuse of having been employed on a Contract during the War, he feared that the results of such a search would be fatal to him, for which reason he dared to trust the honor of the Governor, writing to him in the terms found in his first letter of August 28 last to His Excellency.

Question . . What kind of a Contract was it to which he just alluded.

Reply . . . It was of an extraordinary nature. It had for its basis the reciprocal tacit permission of the American General Greene and the British Officer Leslie[18]: Its object was the exchange of Rice, and other fresh Provisions, for clothing for the Troops, the American Army being naked in the Interior of South Carolina, and the British perishing of hunger in Charleston and its Vicinity:—In the said Contract, the witness acted as the only ostensible principal, although in fact Mr. John MacQuin, Gentleman Planter, then a resident of Charleston, and at present settled on Sapelo Island in Georgia, was equally interested.

Question . . If he thinks that Congress, any Legislative Body of the said three States, or any other Public employees have knowledge of, or Support the said enterprise.

Reply . . . He is firmly persuaded that neither Congress nor any Legislative Body knows anything of the matter, and adds that if he thought that the said project were supported or approved by the Government of his Country, he would consider himself a traitor

[18]General Alexander Leslie.

because of the information that he here communicates: But as matters are, he is persuaded that he does a good deed, for the Conspirators are mere adventurers, who, for their private ends, are trying to compromise nations, and the witness is certain that those who are complicated would shrink from manifesting their designs to any person holding a public Office.

Question . . What was the aim of Farragut in his journey to Spanish America.

Reply . . . Neither Farragut nor he knew definitely the aim, but both, while discussing the matter, have conjectured that it would be to find out the opinions of the Spanish Vassals, and to establish a correspondence with those who should be found inclined toward the enterprise: The truth will be learned when Farragut has received his instructions from the Convention.

Question . . Why did not the witness give secret information of the said enterprise to Congress, or to some of its members, rather than to the Governor here.

Reply . . . Because he feared that, according to American Laws, he would be compelled to prove his information, which would undoubtedly result in his being exposed to the vengeance of the conspirators.

Question . . What is the Name, Country, Religion, and Profession of his Father.

Reply . . . His Father is dead, he was named Joseph, was born in America, was the son of a European, a native of the principality of Wales in England, his Religion the Roman Catholic, his Trade or profession that of Merchant in the City of New York, where he lived in a House of his own.

Question . . What is the Name, Country, Religion, and residence of his Mother: Has he any brothers, and how do they support themselves.

Reply . . . His Mother is named Amey (Amalia) Waters, native of America, her Religion Protestant, the place of her residence was Bond Street in New York, when he left that City, but at present it seems that she lives on Queen Street: The witness has two brothers: James, the elder, who learned the Trade of Master sail-maker, but he does not use it any more, and lives with his Mother: Joseph, the Younger, who studied with a Master Coach-builder, but he does not follow his Trade either, and resides in the State of New York, in the Country on North River with a relative, awaiting the return of the witness to settle down.

Question . . The Age, Country, Religion, and Trade of the witness is desired to be known.

Reply . . . His age is twenty-eight years. His Country New York: That, as to his Religion, because his Father was a Catholic, he was Baptised and brought up in that Faith until he was twelve years old, when his Father died, and then, since his Mother is a Protestant, she inclined him to think in her way, as a result of which contradictory instruction, the witness is a Christian in general terms without being of any particular denomination; And, as to his Trade or Profession, when between fifteen and sixteen years of age he entered the American Army as a volunteer in the second Regiment of the State of Jersey, in which he remained eight months, after which, he passed, still as a Volunteer, to the New York Brigade, Corps of Colonel Billet, who had been a particular friend of his Father: At the end of three months the witness obtained a transfer to the Artillery Corps of the same Brigade, which was commanded by Colonel Lamb, who was married to a Cousin of the witness, and at the end of a year was appointed third Lieutenant of Artillery, in which capacity he remained until 1779 when he was made a prisoner, remaining such for six months, after which he was exchanged, and later left the Service because of a certain difficulty.

Question . . From what did the said difficulty originate.

Reply . . . From the American Governor Livingston's[19] having refused to procure the immediate release of the witness in exchange for a British Militia major named Ward, whom the witness had captured a short time before.

Question . . What did the witness do after obtaining his liberty.

Reply . . . He went to live with his Mother, who had retired from New York to the state of East Jersey, until the year 81, and then he started for South Carolina with the idea of joining the Army of General Greene; where on his arrival he met Colonel Lee[20] (a Gentleman whom he had previously known intimately), who had the confidence of the said General:—This Colonel, with the idea of serving the witness, and in view of the lack of Clothing from which the Army suffered, offered to procure him a Flag of Truce to pass the British Lines, in order to go to Charleston, and there, if possible, negotiate for clothing for the Troops, and also for liquors, which were very scarce in the Army, giving him for that purpose a letter of recommendation to the aforecited Mr. John MacQuin telling him of the purpose of the Witness's Journey, as a result of which the said MacQuin, who in his heart was American, although very intimate with Colonel Balfour,[21] the British Commandant in Charleston, facilitated the above mentioned reciprocal exchange of Articles that both Armies needed, through the said Commandant; But, with the cooperation of MacQuin, the witness was able to take out of the City a much greater quantity of the necessary articles than the British Commandant knew about, or wished to show that he knew about.

[19]William Livingston, governor of New Jersey, 1776-1790.
[20]Colonel Henry ("Light-Horse Harry") Lee.
[21]Colonel Nisbet Balfour.

Question . . With what funds did he procure the goods mentioned.

Reply . . . The Greater part was furnished on the credit of Mr. John MacQuin, the witness paying for them opportunely with Rice and Food taken from the Country: But after several goings and comings between the City and the Country, he was pillaged while taking out Powder and Salt, and, in consequence, was sent a prisoner to New York, where he had the good fortune to escape to New Jersey soon after arriving; And the witness adds that, from the transactions mentioned, the aforecited Debts owed to him by the State of South Carolina originated, for the collection of which he returned to Charleston when Peace was made.

Question . . If independent of the laudable motives, which, according to what the witness has said, moved him to make this revelation, is there not some other which caused him to reveal the intentions of the confederates; And if it does not seem to him that what he has revealed merits a reward.

Reply . . . He affirms that he has no other idea than that of stopping the evils indicated, and that he was certainly moved by no interest whatever, nor was he stimulated by necessity; For although the delay of the State of South Carolina in paying him what it owes him subjects him to some inconveniences, notwithstanding the existence of such a Debt, which will undoubtedly be collected sooner or later, he has means to live on, and that he well knows that the information he has given, supported by his simple affirmation, merits no reward; But he confesses that, in case the confederates learn of his present or future proceedings with this Government, he would then expect to find a sufficient and secure refuge in the Spanish Dominions.

Question . . He is charged that, after reviewing well in his memory what he has expressed in the present Cross-examination, to say if there is anything to add to or take from it, and if he has any objection to signing what has been stated.

Reply . . . He has nothing to take from or add to it, and he affirms that all contained in it, both questions and replies are in perfect conformity with the tenor of what he has stated: Therefore, far from offering any objections to signing it, he considers himself obligated to do so, in Faith of which he signs the Cross-examination in the City of St. Augustine, Florida, December twenty-first, seventeen hundred and eighty-seven — Thomas Powell —

Duplicate Zéspedes

[Translation]

GARDOQUI TO ZÉSPEDES, NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 26, 1787 (ENCLOSURE)[22]

Corresponds to confidential representation number 4.

Copy of a Letter Written by Don Diego Gardoqui; to the Governor of St. Augustine, Florida (New York, November 26, 1787)

[22]A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17. Enclosed in Zespedes to Valdes, January 16, 1788.

Number 2.

My dear Sir. Under date of the 20th of last month I wrote four items to you, and since then I have received your esteemed letter of the 12th of the same to which I reply by the Schooner Maria which brought it. You worked with your accustomed ability in the manner concerning the Settler Manning, who, if he comes here, will hear from me what he deserves. Eight days ago I dispatched an Express to the Captain General of those Provinces, on account of the circumstantial evidence I had that a Conspiracy of Daring Adventurers was being formed in the District or County of Franklin, with the infamous plan of attacking our Possessions and New Orleans, coming, according to reports, by the Waters of the Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi Rivers, and, although I do not have all I should like to have to send in Duplicate, Nevertheless I send you the enclosed Document which contains the substance of the news, so that you may send it to the said Captain General as soon as possible. I have no reason to doubt the friendship of the United States, but these examples confirm the reason that I have constantly emphasized that our frontiers should always be prepared against all surprises. I want very much to hear the latest news that you may have, because the recent reports from Savannah assert that that State is strongly invaded by the Creek Indians, and that its inhabitants, under arms, are so freightened that even its Capital was being fortified. Nothing more is happening in this Country, whose new Plan of Government is the object of general attention, and which, according to appearances, will be adopted *in toto* next year . . . . New York, November 26, 1787 . . . . Diego de Gardoqui — Señor Don Vizente Manuel de Zéspedes.

Duplicate Zéspedes

[Translation]

EXTRACT FROM A LETTER TO BENJAMIN HAWKINS, DAVIDSON COUNTY, [1787?] (ENCLOSURE)[23]

Corresponds to confidential representation number 4.

Translation of an Extract from a Letter of Unknown date, written in Davidson County, in the Western part of North Carolina, to Mr. Benjamin Hawkins, one of the delegates of the said State in the American Congress.

The People that live in the vicinity of these Waters have been placed under much apprehension by a rumor Recently Circulated about the designs of the Spanish Court. We have been informed that the Spanish Minister in New York Has formally proposed to Congress that the latter give up all its claims to the Navigation of the Mississippi; at least for the period of Twenty-one years. In spite of the large amount

[23] A. G. I., P. C. 86-6-17. Enclosed in Zespedes to Valdes, January 16, 1788. This extract, bubbling over the Western enthusiasm, was taken seriously by Ezpeleta, the captain general of Cuba. A year later Ezpeleta wrote his views on the situation in the West in terms that are strikingly similar to the language found here. See Ezepeleta to Valdes, December 29, 1788, in A. G. I., P. C., 86-6-17 (transcript in the McClung Collection).

of Property that I have in this Country, I am no more Interested in this matter than are the other Inhabitants; For each one thinks that his all goes with it. The person from whom is taken, or who may be made to lose, half of his property, can imagine himself deprived of the other half tomorrow. We do not find any sufficient reasons that the Spanish Court can advance for depriving us of the navigation of a River that was free to the British. It is not possible that the said Court can imagine that the United States alone may be more formidable, or more dangerous, as neighbors, than the same People would have been while still part of the British nation; For it is not natural that a part should be stronger than the whole. Perhaps they look on us with disdain, and for this reason do not wish to grant us what they would never have refused to great Britain; The supposition is humiliating; But that does not keep it from being probable. I do not think that Spain would show more liberality and equity than other nations, and I have been taught to believe that the decisions of statesmen in respect to Justice are influenced by the dimensions of their respective Swords. The Spanish Minister must reason as other Politicians: But, everything considered, I do not understand why it seems to him a wise measure to exclude us from the Navigation of the Mississippi. The Inhabitants of this Country maintain that every Large River that passes through an Empire should be considered as a general Gift from Heaven, which cannot be subject to any monopoly. These Inhabitants say that Spain has no more right to impede our navigation than to hinder the Sun's shining on our Fields; Through the last named impediment, the fruitfulness of our harvests would be taken away, and through the other we would be deprived of the use of them after they are produced. We have been told that the Emperor of Germany does not enjoy the free navigation of the Danube River, although it Bathes his Capital, Vienna, and that on the opposite Coast the Mouth of the Scheldt is closed to him by the Dutch. Twenty similar examples of absurdities may be cited; But twenty Comparisons with oppressions cannot make Shackle bearers of my freemen. The day should come when the Emperor of Germany will say to the Turks, as he has recently said to the Dutch, that he must be permitted to go to Sea by the Mouth of a River which is navigable within his own Dominions. The Spanish Minister is doubtless well informed that we claim the navigation of the Mississippi by virtue of the Treaty of Peace, and he should know that we would have claimed it as a right by natural Law, even if such a Treaty had not existed. We consider the Closing of that River now as a plain extortion, and an act of hostility, from which it follows that our products are reduced to less than half their true value. It is natural to suppose, that the spirit of Man is indisposed by such a procedure, and that we look to the time when we will be freed from the said Oppression, since it is rare for nations to be subjected to inconveniences very long when they have the means to remove them. Certainly there is no nation that would permit another to take away its property, and keep peaceful, while it has sufficient forces to retake it. The navigation of the Mississippi is in this identical position: There is no man in the United States, at least, no man, woman, or child on the Western Waters, who does not believe that his right to Navigate on that River is as evident and Indispensable

as the rights of those who have ever owned a Cow or a Horse. Such rights are not permitted to lapse from disuse. In the prosecution of this Right we do not expect much help from your side of the Mountains, nor do we believe that Congress will interest itself seriously in our behalf. You are not disposed to send Settlers to this Side of the Mountains, because, while you can persuade them to stay there, you can better collect Taxes and Imposts; But Thousands may come every year without diminishing your numbers, and they will certainly come in spite of your Counsels. We will try to look out for ourselves: If we are far from Jupiter, fortune also favors in that his Rays are far away. The Settlement of Kentucky could easily put Ten thousand men under Arms with Fourteen days' notice: The Counties of North Carolina on the Western Waters can Arm an equal number. The common Estimate that Two thousand men are added to our present Number each year is conservative; Our Lands are fertile, and we are not accustomed to luxuries, from which it follows that we have plenty of leisure time, part of which we will not hestitate to use in a way that will not be agreeable to the Spaniards; Every Person among us is a Soldier and while there is a Hostile Indian in the woods we will preserve the Military Spirit. You know how easy it is to transport a Body of men and their Supplies down a River in Boats, and you also know that the Capture of New Orleans, or any other place that we may attack, will be scarcely more difficult than the Capture of a Bee Tree. I will readily grant that the reduction of the Spanish Settlements on the Mississippi will not assure us the free exportation of our products, because Spain, through her superiority on the sea, will be able for many years to Come to control the navigation of the Gulf of Mexico. Be that as it may, we know that men who have been Vexed for a long time by Insults and injuries are generally happy for the mere opportunity to do injury. Many Wise Princes have left the Way open to their Enemies rather than force them to desperate measures. Let us suppose for the present, what will surely happen later, that our people will try to open the Mississippi to Navigation, and when they get to the Mouth of the River they find the Seas Covered with hostile Warships; will it not be natural in this case, in the moment of indignation and disappointment; will it not be natural, I say, for them to turn their Eyes toward Mexico; and the Colonies that lie in that direction? It is said that Silver is found there in abundance, and that ships cannot go there. People who are accustomed to look upon, or witness, the march of regular Armies of Mercenaries, with all their impediments and War apparatus, will have difficulty in believing that we talk seriously when we speak of marching fifteen or twenty thousand men, through a Country like this, where the inhabitants are without money, and have no wealth but their Lands and Cattle; But the History of the Tartars for more than two thousand years, may have taught them how easy it is for an Army of Savages; But not having large Cities, magnificent Houses, Costly furniture, or other luxuries, which are usually apt to tie men to their Homes, and being accustomed to Live by Hunting in the woods, we have the same facility as the Tartars for putting ourselves on the march, with this notable difference in our favor, that they always marched to oppress others, and we march to Get Justice. After this dispute has kindled a blaze, it is

natural that the Peoples of some parts of Europe will wonder that such a Cause should produce such an effect. There are Millions of People, who, since Time Immemorial, have lived on navigable Rivers, whose mouths neither they nor their ancestors Ever Visited without complaining of the obstacles placed in their way. The reason is clear; They have not been accustomed to navigate, and are Ignorant of the Benefits of Commerce. In various parts of the World, men, like Trees, die in the same places they were born: Seldom does a man desire those things to which he has not been accustomed, and it is equally True that the habits of men are not easily taken from them. It is natural that Kamchatka would feal Unhappy without its Fish: The East Indian without his Rice, and the Dutchman would not willingly leave the vicinity of the Water. Thus it happens, inconveniently for those of us who are settled on the Western Waters, that each has his desires, or habits, that he Brought with him from some distant place: We have inhabited maritime Countries and we have enjoyed the benefits of Commerce: We know, that with the exportation of Certain Articles which are easily produced on our Lands, we can Buy other articles that are desirable, and which we cannot manufacture: Therefore we should be allowed to export our products, for when an entire nation is dominated by a Passion that is not adaptable to its situation, it will procure its gratification and remedy without fail. If we are not given Freedom of Commerce we must take it. I have weighed this matter with the most careful attention, and I have tried to examine all the Probable consequences that may result to Spain from opening the Mississippi to navigation, or from keeping it closed, but I cannot find a single argument in favor of her present Conduct. By giving us the right to navigate the Mississippi, and permission to Trade in New Orleans, or any other stipulated place, it would naturally follow that Spanish ships would be the Carriers of our Products, from which an increase of the Naval forces of Spain would result, and one of its own Cities would become rich and important: Our Citizens would occupy themselves in cultivating their Lands to export their products in a raw state, and in Importing articles of luxury; from this it would follow that they would remain Quietly in their Homes, and a friendly Intercourse would exist between the two nations. He will have little understanding who does not forsee that, if we are excluded from the navigation of the Mississippi, as we have been up to now, serious and disagreeable results will follow; Results that cannot be ended pacifically. It seems that our present Complaints are born of the zeal of the Spanish Minister, who is afraid to permit us to Pass through a corner of an Insignificant Province, who is afraid that in the Course of Time we will march to his Silver mines. By impeding our passage by the route that we have a right to Travel, We will undoubtedly be moved to explore other Paths that will not be very agreeable to a Wise Nation: Some paths that do not lead to Riches as desirable as those that are obtained by Cultivating the Land. The result, although not more advantageous, or sought by us, will be extremely disagreeable to the Spanish Nation.

Duplicate Zéspedes

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Compiled by LAURA E. LUTTRELL

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McQueen, Ray. Andrew Jackson and the Floridas. (Ph.D. Pittsburgh)

Martin, Isaac Patton. Biography of Bishop Elijah Embree Hoss. (Knoxville)

Moffitt, James W. Missions and missionary activities among the five civilized tribes. (Ph.D. Oklahoma)

Overdyke, William D. The know-nothing movement in the South. (Ph.D. Duke)

Parks, Joseph H. Biography of John Bell. (Memphis)

Parks, Norman L. The public life of John Bell. (Ph.D. Vanderbilt)

Rule, William. A history of the First Presbyterian church, Knoxville. (Knoxville)

Silver, James W. Life of Edmund Pendleton Gaines. (Miss.)

Smith, Culver H. Jacksonian democracy and the press. (Chattanooga)

Smith, William Dunn. The prohibition movement in Tennessee politics. (Ph.D. Vanderbilt)

Taylor, Arutheus A. The negro in Tennessee. (Fisk)

Street, Clyde. A history of legal education in Tennessee. (M.A. Tenn.)

Williams, Samuel Cole. Tennessee in the Revolution. (Johnson City)

Wright, Robert E. Wright-Smith and associated families. (Knoxville)

*See also Publications, no. 12, p. 154.

BOOK NOTICES

Books to be noticed will be those bearing directly or indirectly upon some phase or phases of the history of Tennessee. There is no intention of reviewing books critically; the purpose of the *Publications* will be served in supplying bibliographical data and in indicating something of the nature of the subject matter.

Guide to the Material in the National Archives. Publication No. 14 of The National Archives. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940, xviii + 303 pp., 70c.)

"The National Archives of the United States was established by an act of Congress approved June 19, 1934, and occupies a monumental building erected for its use in the National Capital. Its primary objectives are the concentration and preservation of such noncurrent records of the Government of the United States as appear to have administrative, research, or informational value and the administration of such records so as to facilitate their use by officials, scholars, or others to whom they might be of service. It is obvious that an essential part of facilitating the use of the records is to make known to prospective users of them their existence and something of their nature, scope, and value. That is the purpose of this publication." (Foreword).

This volume supercedes the first general guide to the material in The National Archives which appeared in 1938 as an appendix to the *Third Annual Report* of the Archivist of the United States. The agencies whose records are described in the main portion of the guide are arranged in four sections: the Congress, the executive departments, the independent agencies, and the judiciary. A fifth section contains descriptions of motion pictures and sound recordings that have been presented to the National Archives and therefore cannot be assigned to any particular agency. The appendix lists "Other records received to December 31, 1939," which have not been carefully studied and arranged. The work is carefully indexed and should be of inestimable value to students engaged in research in Tennessee history as well as in the history of other states and of the nation.

Cameos of the South. By Marguerite Bartlett Hamer. (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company, 1940. vii + 154 pp., $3.00.)

"The articles in this book have appeared earlier in various historical publications. The continued request for reprints has encouraged their incorporation in this present form. They represent hitherto neglected aspects of Southern history . . . . Tennessee before and since the Civil War

is represented by the story of an unique community founded in the Cumberland mountains by an English novelist. *The Presidential Campaign of* 1860 is a study in local political aspirations and activities. The sketches of certain of Tennessee's sons: a statesman, a historian, and a Knoxville businessman, are reproduced from the Dictionary of American Biography." (Preface).

The chapters are entitled: I. Thomas Hughes and His American Rugby; II. The Presidential Campaign of 1860 in Tennessee; III. Notable Sons of the Volunteer State: John Rhea, Joseph McMinn, Charles McClung McGhee, James Phelan; IV. The Foundation and Failure of the Silk Industry in Provincial Georgia; V. Edmund Gray and His Settlement at New Hanover; VI. The Fate of the Exiled Acadians in South Carolina; VII. A Century Before Manumission.

Each chapter is carefully documented, but in view of the reprint character of the work, it contains neither bibliography nor an index.

Phases of Southwest Territory History. By Samuel C. Williams. (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1940. vi + 26 pp.)

"At the request of the committee in charge of arrangements for a celebration of the sesqui-centennial of the organization of the Southwest Territory, the writer prepared a series of articles on 'Phases of Southwest Territory History,' designed for first publication in the daily newspapers of Upper East Tennessee in furtherance of the publicizing of the event . . . .

"The Phases here treated of are those which relate to the four counties of Washington, Sullivan, Greene and Hawkins, which composed Washington District of the Southwest Territory. At other points in the State of Tennessee there will be other celebrations in the years of 1940 and 1941, and in these, no doubt, emphasis will be given to the history of Hamilton and Mero Districts during the territorial period." (Preface.)

This brief sketch is based on documentary material, but it contains neither footnotes nor bibliography. The frontispiece is a map of the Southwest Territory.

Felix Grundy: Champion of Democracy. By Joseph Howard Parks. (University, La.: Louisiana State University Press, 1940. ix +368 pp., $3.00.)

"The stories of the lives of the so-called great men of the nation have been told and retold, but little has been done toward giving due credit to those who made them great. A Clay, a Calhoun, or a Jackson does not spontaneously spring into national prominence. They owe much to those lesser figures who, for the most part, remain behind the scene and direct the springs of action. The purpose of this book is to rescue from obscurity one of the nation's unheralded masters of political strategy." (Preface.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Early Years; II. "The Knight of Nelson"; III. "War or Honorable Peace"; IV. A War Leader in Congress;

V. "Gentlemen of the Jury"; VI. Champion of Relief; VII. Arbiter in the Kentucky-Tennessee Boundary Dispute; VIII. A Master of Political Strategy; IX. An Early Jackson Leader; X. About-Face on Nullification; XI. An Opponent of the Bank; XII. "To the Victor Belong the Spoils"; XIII. Every Man a Freeholder; XIV. A Presidential Election and Its Aftermath; XV. A Reward to the Faithful.

This work is the first published volume in a "Southern Biography Series" being published by the Louisiana University Press. It is amply documented and contains several illustrations, a lengthy "Critical Essay on Authorities," and an index. It is printed in a very attractive format, and it is on the whole an auspicious beginning of what promises to be a worthwhile series of significant biographies of Southern statesmen.

The History of Hamilton County and Chattanooga, Tennessee. By Zella Armstrong. Vol. II. (Chattanooga: The Lookout Publishing Company, 1940. xi +343 pp., $5.00.)

"Volume II, as was Volume I, has been prepared for a reference book. The War Between the States history is given as it concerned Chattanooga and Hamilton County, without partiality, and without effort to explain or justify tactics and strategy." (Foreword.)

Included are sixteen appendices, of which several deal with the period covered in Volume I; a chronology covering the period, 1861-1939; and an index. The work is illustrated, but contains neither bibliography nor footnotes.

Records of Rhea: A Condensed County History. By T. J. Campbell. (Dayton, Tennessee: Rhea Publishing Company, 1940. 205 pp., $1.50.)

"It has long been in my mind . . . to write something about Rhea County and her people. The facts, many of them, in her record are worthy of preservation and of being brought to the attention of the community. For a number of years I have gathered information from every available source. The story is not so complete as could be desired. Many old records have been destroyed—many items irretrievably lost. Another handicap has been encountered in that some descendants of the pioneer fathers are indifferent or too busy to tell the story of their ancestry." (Preface.)

The work is divided into two parts: "Records of Rhea," which is a summary of the history of the county; and "Our Pioneer Stock," which contains brief family and biographical sketches. Included are a number of illustrations and a short bibliography, but the volume is not indexed and contains neither a table of contents nor footnotes.

History of Johnson City and Its Environs. By Samuel C. Williams. (Johnson City: The Watauga Press, 1940. 31 pp.)

"As Johnson City seems destined to grow into a much larger city, its intriguing history will take on importance and have a wider interest. Some

phases of that history will likely be lost if not rescued before the 'old-timers' of today pass away.

"Too, the environs of few cities of Tennessee can match those of Johnson City in historic interest." (Preface.)

This brief outline of the history of Johnson City by an acknowledged authority was originally published in the Johnson City *Press Chronicle,* March 24, 1940. It is published in this more permanent and usable form in order to serve in part as a chronological guide to some future writer of a more detailed history of the city and its environs.

Tennessee: a Political Study. By William H. Combs and William E. Cole. (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1940. xi +353 pp., $2.00.)

"TENNESSEE: A POLITICAL STUDY is written with two major ends in view. In the first place it is an attempt to bring together within a single volume pertinent information relative to the state and local political structures and to show how these function within Tennessee. The work of the authors in teaching and in service to various departments of the state government has indicated a need for such a book.

"In the second place, a major purpose of the volume is to improve the administration of governmental practices and the scope of intelligent understanding relative to government within Tennessee. It is the authors' hope that the work will serve in this capacity; accordingly, and to this end, recommendations have been made and comparative practices in other states cited." (Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Constitutional Development; II. An Unamended Constitution; III. Suffrage and Elections; IV. The General Assembly; V. The Governor; VI. State Administration and the Civil Service; VII. The Court System and the Administration of Justice; VIII. Problems of State Financial Administration; IX. The Educational System in Tennessee; X. The Public Welfare Services; XI. Conserving the Health of the Commonwealth; XII. Miscellaneous Services of Public Agencies; XIII. Planning Agencies and Legislation; XIV. Problems of Local Rural Government.

This work is the first publication of the University of Tennessee Press. It is well documented and contains several charts and tables, a selected bibliography, and an index.

The Tennessean and his Government. By Hilton Butler. (Nashville: Rich Printing Company, 1940. 191 pp.)

County Government and Administration in the Tennessee Valley States. By the Tennessee Valley Authority, Department of Regional Studies — Government Research Division. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940. xix+ 144 pp.)

"This report is one of a number of studies of local government which have been carried on in connection with the various programs of the Tennessee Valley Authority. It undertakes to describe some of the more important developments and trends in county government in the seven Tennessee Valley States. The study also outlines the organization and functions of counties and evaluates their suitability for adminstering the increasingly important services they now perform." (Foreword.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Introduction; II. Nature of Valley Counties; III. County Administrative Organization; IV. County Financial Administration; V. County Highway Administration; VI. County Educational Administration; VII. County Health and Welfare Administration; VIII. Law Enforcement, Planning and Zoning, and Other County Functions; IX. Consolidation of Areas and Functions; X. The Outlook for County Government in the Seven Valley States.

The work contains several valuable tables, a selected bibliography, and an index.

The Norris Project: A Comprehensive Report on the Planning, Design, Construction, and Initial Operations of the Tennessee Valley Authority's First Water Control Project. Technical Report No. 1 of the Tennessee Valley Authority. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940. xv + 840 pp., $1.50.)

"The material presented herein has been selected and condensed from the large mass of data, many times greater in volume, contained in the Authority's files. To make this report of greatest use to those engaged on other similar projects, relatively little space is given to such parts of the work as followed well-established engineering practice; while, on the other hand, novel or unprecedented features are described and explained in much more detail. It is hoped that many parts of this exposition will be found useful and interesting also to the general public." (Introduction).

The chapters are entitled: I. Introduction; II. Project Investigations; III. Dam and Powerhouse Design; IV. Access Roads and Employee Housing; V. Construction Plant and River Diversion; VI. Dam and Powerhouse Construction; VII. Reservoir Activities; VIII. Initial Operation and Related Development; IX. Costs.

Included in the work are numerous tables, illustrations, and appendices, and an adequate index.

Chancellor Kirkland of Vanderbilt. By Edwin Mims. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1940. xvii +362 pp., $3.00.)

"Rarely has an educational leader received a greater ovation than Chancellor Kirkland at the semi-centennial celebration of the founding of Vanderbilt University (October 15, 1925) . . . .

"Eight years later (1933) the trustees, faculty, and students held another celebration, this time in honor of Kirkland's forty years of patient,

courageous, and intelligent service. He had increased the productive funds of the University from less than $1,000,000 to more than $20,000,000; the value of the physical plant from $708,000 to $6,500,000; and the total income from approximately $50,000 to $1,621,000. He had brought all the professional departments into an organic unity, and the standards of all of them had been raised . . . . He had made Vanderbilt a bulwark of freedom and a strategic center of regional culture. It was natural therefore that all elements of the University should unite to do him honor." (Introduction.)

The chapters are entitled: I. Ancestry and Boyhood; II. Wofford College, 1873-1883; III. Widening Horizons, 1883-1886; IV. At Vanderbilt: Teacher and Scholar, 1886-1893; V. The Young Chancellor, 1893-1904; VI. A Crusader for Educational Standards, 1895-1905; VII. The Ten Years' War, 1904-1914; VIII. New Sources of Power, 1914-1918; IX. The Building of a Medical School, 1893-1937; X. The Vision of a University Center in Nashville, 1903-1911; XI. A Celebration and Its Aftermath, 1925-1931; XII, The Humanist; XIII. The Citizen; XIV. "Forward Ever Be Our Watchword," 1933-1939.

The work is illustrated and contains "Acknowledgements and Bibliographical Notes" and an index, but does not have footnote citations to the sources used.

Prominent Tennesseans, 1796-1938. By James L. Gillum. (Lewisburg, Tennessee: Who's Who Publishing Company, 1940. 286 pp., $3.00.)

The dates included in the title are misleading, as the work is confined almost exclusively to living Tennesseans, and the absence of an index makes the work very difficult to use.

The House of Fowler: A History of the Fowler Families of the South. Compiled by Grover Parsons Fowler. (Hickory, N. C.: Published by the compiler, 1940. 754 pp., $5.50.)

"Good ancestry is a precious heritage, and it is well that a History as rich as that of the Fowler family should be carefully recorded and preserved . . . .

"Only recently have we realized that older members of our family—those to whom many points in our family history have been handed down—are fast passing away. An effort has been made to secure as much of this information as possible for this record. Time has obscured many valuable facts, and your indulgence is asked in view of errors that no doubt have been made. Perhaps some future historian will be able to make a finished account from these necessarily broken and at times tangled records. I can, of course, make no claim of honor in making history; it is merely my privilege to record the incidents as I have found them. But if I succeed in elevating your ideals by relating the genuine traits and accomplishments of your forefathers, I will have every reason to be satisfied with my efforts." (Foreword.)

Among the descendants of John Fowler of Virginia are numerous Tennesseans. The work is illustrated, including as the frontispiece the Fowler coat of arms.

Red Carolinians. By Chapman J. Milling. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1940. xxi +438 pp., $4.00.)

"The story of the native tribes in contact with provincial South Carolina is, to a great extent, the history of all the important Indian nations of the Deep South. At one time or another, as many as thirty tribes or bands lived within the borders of the present state, yet this astonishing number does not include half the Red Men who came under the influence of the Charles Town government. Through contacts made by such early explorers as Woodward and Hughes, trade agreements were entered into with Creek, Choctaw, and Chickasaw, as well as with the Cherokee and other tribes native to the province itself. Indeed, much of our present knowledge of these more distant nations comes from the manuscript records of the Indian Commission, the Council and Commons House Journals, and the reports of various officials to the Proprietors, the Lords of Trade, or the Crown.

". . . The story of some of these tribes, particularly that of the Cherokee, is an inspiring saga. A century ago the phrase 'racial minority' had not been invented, but some striking parallels may be drawn between what took place in 1838 in America and what is now taking place in other parts of the world. The modern Indian, where he has been granted his rights, is an American citizen of whom his country is justly proud. And where he has reached his finest development, he is usually found to be a member of one of those tribes which a century ago were deemed unworthy to remain on the same side of the Mississippi with the Anglo-Saxon." (Preface.)

A part of the first chapter, "In the Beginning," and the last five chapters: "Mountaineers of the Cherokee Nation"; "The Cherokee War"; "The Blood-Stained Path"; The Trail of Tears"; and "In the Shadow of the Smokies" deal with the Cherokee Indians. The work is illustrated, amply documented, and contains a bibliography which is partly critical, and an excellent index.

Happy Valley: History and Genealogy. By Thomas Felix Hickerson. (Chapel Hill, N. C.: Privately printed, 1940. ix +244 pp., illus., $10.00.)

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Vol. IX. *The Territory of Orleans* 1803-1812. (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1940. ix +1092 pp., $2.50.)

NOTES AND NEWS, 1940*

James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, was the speaker at the annual banquet of the East Tennessee Historical Society at Hotel Andrew Johnson, Knoxville, October 12. "The History of the University of Tennessee Beginning with the Administration of Charles William Dabney" was the subject of his address.

Harry Williams, of the Municipal University of Omaha, was the winner of the Calvin M. McClung Award of $50.00, given annually by Mrs. C. M. McClung, for his contribution, "Andrew Johnson as a Member of the Committee on the Conduct of the War," to *Publications* No. 12. V. Alton Moody, Iowa State College; Merritt B. Pound, University of Georgia; and Roy M. Robbins, Butler University, were the judges.

Officers and editors of the East Tennessee Historical Society for 1941 were elected as follows: S. O. Houston, president; C. C. Justus, Knoxville, S. C. Williams, Johnson City and J. P. Brown, Chattanooga, vice-presidents; Martha L. Ellison, treasurer; Laura E. Luttrell, secretary; J. B. Sanders and John S. Van Gilder, members of the executive committee. Managing editor, S. J. Folmsbee; editorial associate, V. M. Queener; members of the editorial board for three years, Mary U. Rothrock and P. M. Hamer.

The Tennessee Historical Commission was revived April 18 when six of the original members met in Nashville. The Commission elected as new members Governor Prentice Cooper and Mrs. John Trotwood Moore. The Governor is the Commission chairman. Miss Zella Armstrong, Chattanooga, General Cary F. Spence and E. E. Patton, of Knoxville, were appointed to arrange for the expenditure of a $2000 state appropriation in improving and landscaping Pleasant Forest Cemetery near Concord where Archibald Roane, second governor of the state, is buried.

The (Knoxville) Junior Historical Association was organized November 18 with James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, as president of the Association, and Wil-

*Compiled by Laura E. Luttrell. Unless otherwise indicated all dates refer to 1940.

liam Rule, treasurer. The main objectives are to mark historical sites in and around Knoxville and to work toward having an historical museum.

At the annual convention of the Southern Historical Association, November 7-9, at Charleston, S. C. Beard, Jr., of the University of Illinois, read a paper, "The Southern Highlander on the Eve of Conflict." J. B. Sanders, University of Tennessee, served as chairman of a program dealing with the military history of the Confederacy. J. P. Dyer read a paper, "Cavalry Operations in the Army of Tennessee."

At the fourth annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists at Montgomery, Alabama, November 12, Lewis J. Darter read a paper, "Matthew Fontaine Maury," [his personality as revealed in records in the National Archives].

The Social Science Research Council announced grants-in-aid for research in southern history, 1940-1941, to Claude A. Campbell, assistant professor of economics at the University of Oklahoma, and Mary R. Campbell for a study of political and economic reconstruction in Tennessee.

Mrs. Sarah Henry Hood was awarded the honor of being the state's outstanding pioneer club woman at the state convention of Tennessee Federated Women's Clubs held in Memphis in April. A gold medal was presented to Mrs. Hood for her fifty-six years of continuous club work.

Culver H. Smith, University of Chattanooga, taught at Duke University the second summer term.

A silver medal was presented to Miss Zella Armstrong at a dinner given in her honor by a large group of Chattanooga citizens at Hotel Patten, September 21. For her "civic activity and service to Chattanooga" she was proclaimed by Mayor Bass, "Chattanooga's Woman Citizen, Number One."

Thomas Jefferson Campbell, author and editor, died September 19 at his home in Dayton. He was the author of *The Upper Tennessee,* which concerns river transportation and its lore, published 1932; and *Records of Rhea, a Condensed County History,* published following his death. He was editor of the Chattanooga *News* under the late George Fort Milton, Senior. In 1911-1917 he was connected with the Knoxville *Sentinel.* In recent years he wrote feature articles for the Knoxville *Journal*

and the Chattanooga *Times*. He first edited a paper in Meigs county, and for several years was editor of the Dayton *Herald*.

Walter P. Chandler, U. S. representative to Congress, resigned to become mayor of Memphis in January.

Blanche Henry Clark accepted an appointment as dean of women at Vanderbilt University. She was formerly assistant professor of history and dean of women at Transylvania College.

Marshall Clark, superintendent of Hamilton county schools, was elected president of the East Tennessee Educational Association at the convention held in Knoxville, November 1.

Prentice Cooper was reelected governor of the state, November 6.

In November the State Board of Education elected William Everett Derryberry as president of Tennessee Polytechnic Institute at Cookeville. He succeeded J. M. Smith, who resigned to become superintendent of Memphis public schools. Mr. Derryberry, a graduate of the University of Tennessee and a Rhodes scholar, had been a member of the faculty of Murray (Kentucky) State Teachers College.

The Julius Rosenwald Fund Fellowships, announced in Chicago April 30, included one to James Merton England, teaching fellow at Vanderbilt, for research on the free negro in Tennessee, 1770-1861; also one to Henry Lee Swint, instructor at Vanderbilt, for a study of the "home missions" movement of northern teachers to schools and colleges of the South during the reconstruction era.

Albert Seaton Garrett succeeded H. Woodruff Booth as postmaster at Knoxville. Mr. Booth had reached the retirement age.

James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, received the national Pi Kappa Alpha's distinguished achievements award for 1940. The award was presented to Dr. Hoskins, member of the Knoxville chapter of the fraternity, at a founder's day banquet in Chicago, March 1.

Chancellor R. B. C. Howell, of Nashville, was appointed by Governor Cooper judge of the Middle Tennessee court of

appeals to fill the unexpired term of Judge V. W. Faw, who retired after twenty-three years of service on the appeals bench.

Harvard University conferred upon Secretary of State Cordell Hull the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws at the 289th commencement in June.

Benjamin Jones, 105 years of age, who spent six years in the wars against the Indians on the western plains and four years in the Twelfth Tennessee Cavalry, U. S. A., died in Knox county, March 6. His funeral was in Puncheon Camp Baptist Church.

Clement J. Jones, a former circuit judge and chancellor, also mayor of Athens and Democratic leader of the state, died March 8 at his home in Athens. Bishop James M. Maxon, of the Tennessee Episcopal Diocese, conducted the funeral service. Burial was in Cedar Grove Cemetery.

G. A. Knapp, a former member of the faculty of Maryville College, died November 4 at Maryville.

Mrs. William H. Lambeth, of Nashville, was elected on October 30, regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution for Tennessee, at the Society's annual convention in Cleveland.

W. D. McSween, of Newport, was designated by Governor Cooper to fill out the unexpired term of the late Judge W. P. Monroe, of Maynardville, as judge of the second judicial circuit of Tennessee.

John D. Martin, Sr., was appointed, August 12, by President Roosevelt to the new position as judge of the United States circuit court of appeals for the sixth circuit. The district includes Tennessee and parts of Ohio, Michigan and Kentucky. Judge Martin was United States district judge for the western district of Tennessee.

William Preston Monroe, of Maynardville, judge of the second judicial circuit of Tennessee, died October 17. Before becoming a judge he had served several years in the state Senate representing the third senatorial district.

Wilson New, principal of the Christenberry junior high school, Knoxville, was elected president of the Tennessee Educational Association at the annual convention of the Association at Nashville, January 13.

Frank L. Owsley, of Vanderbilt, taught at the first summer term of Duke University. He is president of the Southern Historical Association.

Governor Cooper named Thomas A. Schriver, Nashville attorney, to succeed Judge R. B. C. Howell as chancellor of part 1, of Davidson county chancery court. Judge Howell had been appointed chancellor in 1928 by Governor Horton, and is now judge of the Middle Tennessee court of appeals.

Tusculum College, at its annual commencement in June, conferred upon Judge Samuel C. Williams the honorary degree of Doctor of Humane Letters. This degree was presented by Dr. Charles A. Anderson, president of the College. Judge Williams delivered the historical address at the dedication of a marker erected at the site of Greeneville College three miles from the town of Greeneville. Tusculum College and the Nolachuckey Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, had charge of the unveiling ceremonies.

Alvin C. York, World War hero of Pall Mall, spent some time in Hollywood assisting a reproduction of the battle of the Argonne in which he captured a number of German soldiers.

At the cornerstone laying of the new federal building at Columbia, April 1, Postmaster General James A. Farley made the principal address.

A miniature of Fort Gamble was placed upon the site of the old fort on the Lou Gamble Hitch farm, Blount county. It is at a bend of Little River facing Chilhowee Mountains. On Sunday, October 6, the marker was unveiled by Mary Blount Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution.

The new post office at Jefferson City was dedicated August 10. W. B. Wooten, representing the Post Office Department, and Senator Kenneth D. McKellar were the principal speakers.

A seven-foot shaft of Tennessee marble was erected this year at the grave in Greenwood Cemetery, Knoxville, of Edward Terry Sanford (1865-1930), late justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The Adolph S. Ochs Observatory and Museum erected on Lookout Mountain to the memory of Adolph S. Ochs, publisher

of the New York *Times* and the Chattanooga *Times,* was dedicated Tuesday, November 5.

A monument erected by the General William B. Bate Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, to commemorate the Battle of Nashville, December 15, 1864, was unveiled with appropriate ceremonies August 11. Stanley Horn, Sr., was the principal speaker. Mrs. H. A. Cragon, Jr., was president of the U. D. C. Chapter. Mrs. R. B. Beal was chairman of the Memorial Committee.

A bronze statue, a figure of a Spanish-American War soldier, placed on the Courthouse yard at Knoxville in honor of the Tennessee soldiers of that war, was unveiled Sunday, June 30. Colonel James A. Gleason presided. Officers of the Jack Bernard Camp, No. 1, Spanish-American War Veterans, took a leading part in the dedication ceremonies. The speakers were General Cary F. Spence, Judge Xen Hicks and W. T. Kennerly. Money for the purchase of the monument was contributed by Spanish-American War Veterans.

The school pupils of Knoxville contributed to a fund for the erection of a bronze marker to the memory of three Cherokee Indian heroes of 1836, Tsali and his two sons. This memorial is located near Gatlinburg between the Chapman highway and Little Pigeon River north of where Roaring Fork empties into the river. It was erected in 1939.

The First Baptist Church of Clinton celebrated its centennial Sunday, November 3. The Reverend H. L. Smith is pastor.

The First Baptist Church of Covington celebrated its centennial Sunday, March 26, 1939. Mr. W. V. Bringle gave a sketch of the history and growth of the church and Reverend Preston L. Ramsey, pastor, delivered a special anniversary address.

St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Harriman, observed its fiftieth anniversary September 15. Reverend A. C. Killefer, retired minister, and organizer of the original church group, was specially honored at the service. Reverend Leonard E. Nelson, priest-in-charge, conducted the service. The Reverend E. P. Dandridge, bishop co-adjuter of the Tennessee Diocese, delivered the anniversary sermon.

The First Presbyterian Church in Chattanooga celebrated its centennial June 21. Eleven pastors have served the church since its founding. One of these, Dr. J. W. Bachman, was pastor more than fifty years.

The Glen Leven Presbyterian Church, Nashville, observed its fiftieth anniversary Sunday, October 6. It was organized by Dr. James H. McNeilly. Reverend John G. Bittinger is the present minister.

Graystone Presbyterian Church observed its fiftieth anniversary January 26. The church has had only two pastors during all the fifty years: the late Reverend W. R. Dawson and the present pastor, Reverend B. B. Lavender.

Park City Presbyterian Church, in Knoxville, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding September 8. Reverend Charles N. Magill, the oldest living pastor, who served the church in 1903-1906 and is now stationed in the province of Luzon, Phillippine Islands, was one of the speakers. Dr. Ralph W. Lloyd and Reverend Robert L. Houston, a former pastor, delivered addresses.

The Presbyterian Church in the United States held its eightieth General Assembly in Chattanooga May 16. At this time also the city of Chattanooga celebrated its one hundred years of Presbyterianism.

The sesquicentennial of the establishment of the Territory of the United States South of the River Ohio was celebrated at Rocky Mount, old homestead of William Cobb, Sunday afternoon, October 13. The Cobb house, where William Blount first took over the government of the Territory, is located on the Bristol highway a few miles east of Johnson City. Leslie R. Driver, general chairman, presided. Judge Samuel C. Williams, of Johnson City, made the historical address. A pageant, written and produced by Miss Kathleen Burnett of the faculty of Tusculum College, was presented.

At the suggestion of James D. Hoskins, president of the University of Tennessee, the City Council called together a general committee in September to consider the celebration of the sesquicentennial of the founding of Knoxville. The town of Knoxville, founded October 3, 1791, was the first capital of the state. At its next meeting the council voted to plan for an appropriate celebration in 1941.

The town of Harriman celebrated its semi-centennial July 24-27 with an historical pageant, "Harriman on Parade," and other features. Hartwell Harriman, grandson of General Walter Harriman, whose name the town bears, presided at the opening performance. Miss Margie Bowman was crowned "Miss Harriman, Queen of the Semi-Centennial."

Middlesboro, Kentucky, celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of its founding September 16-21. Many Knoxvillians and other Tennesseans were prominently connected with the founding of that city. The Knoxville *News-Sentinel* of September 15 published an illustrated historical sketch of Middlesboro by Richard D. Golden.

Van Buren county celebrated the centennial of its founding at Spencer, the county seat.

After five months' work on the Cherokee Dam on Holston River thirty miles northeast of Knoxville, the first concrete was poured December 30. The reservoir created by the construction of this dam will cover the sites of many well-known homesteads. One of these is the home of the late United States senator, John Knight Shields; another, the John R. Jarnagin home built upon a part of the Bean Station battle ground.

The two-day Chicamauga Dam celebration and dedication included a parade on August 31 by the Sixth Cavalry of the United States from Fort Oglethorpe with Colonel John Milliken, commanding officer, in charge; a "Spirit of Progress" parade with seventy floats representing valley cities and towns; also a "Lady of the Lake" ball in the evening. On Monday, September 2, the dedication by President Roosevelt occurred. The Sixth Cavalry was drawn up at the Chattanooga station as the President arrived. Governors Cooper of Tennessee, Rivers of Georgia, and Johnson of Kentucky, TVA officials, and others were present. Senator McKellar presented President Roosevelt, who spoke from a platform overlooking the thirty-mile lake backed up behind the dam.

Fort Loudoun Dam, first authorized as "Coulter Shoals" Dam, twenty-six miles from Knoxville, is not far from old Fort Loudoun, the first important structure in the Tennessee Valley. The East Tennessee Historical Society launched a movement, participated in by a number of historical and patriotic societies, to secure the "Fort Loudoun" name. The dam

will be one hundred and thirty feet high. Its reservoir will provide a nine-foot channel in the river to Knoxville.

The Great Smoky Mountains National Park was formally dedicated "to the free people of America" September 2, by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. He spoke from a platform at the foot of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial at 3 P. M. at Newfound Gap. Colonel D. C. Chapman was chairman of the reception committee which met the President at Knoxville. Governor Cooper rode in the car with President and Mrs. Roosevelt to Newfound Gap, where they were met by Governor Hoey of North Carolina. Harold L. Ickes presided at the dedication, and the Tennessee and North Carolina governors made brief talks.

President Roosevelt signed a bill June 12 authorizing the establishment of Cumberland Gap National Historical Park in Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia. The park will include Cumberland Gap and its vicinity at the junction of the three states. When the necessary lands are acquired the park area will be donated to the federal government and will be administered by the National Park Service.

The Cumberland State Park, near Crossville, located in the center of the Cumberland Homesteads' project, was dedicated Sunday, July 21. James P. Pope, TVA director, was the principal speaker. The Crossville Exchange Club and the Division of State Parks sponsored the dedication. J. Charles Poe, state conservation commissioner, presided.

Pickett State Park in the Cumberland Mountains near Jamestown, Fentress county, was opened July 1. It is established for forest preservation and contains cabins and tent sites for campers.

The McClung Historical Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, has received from Mrs. Margaret Hall Jones (Mrs. J. B.) a gift of the Hall-Stakley papers. The collection includes numerous letters; diaries of 1848-1863; 15 daguerotypes; pamphlets; broadsides; song books; music; Hall family scrap book and typewritten outline; commission (framed) of Thomas Hall as ensign of militia of Knox county, 1804; account books of the mercantile firm of Stakley and Fain, 1835-1845; photographs of the "Gay nineties"; Bolivar Female Academy (Madisonville) catalog, 1867; Knoxville Female Seminary catalogs, 1847-

1850; five volumes of the *Calvinistic Magazine,* n. s., 1846-1850; also some scattered numbers of Knoxville newspapers.

Microfilms of the eighteen volumes of King's Mountain manuscripts in the Draper Collection at the Wisconsin State Historical Society Library are the latest additions to the film collection in the McClung Room at Lawson McGhee Library. With the gift of a "Recordak" film projector last year, the McClung Room began a film acquisition program which, it is anticipated, will soon make distant manuscript collections and rare files of early newspapers available to historians and students in this section. For a list of newspapers on films see *Publications* No. 12, pages 170-171. The King's Mountain papers collected and arranged by Lyman C. Draper preparatory to writing *King's Mountain and Its Heroes,* include reports of the battle by participants on both sides, topography of the region, accounts of earlier skirmishes in the same locality, the fate of captured British troops and loyalists, the founding of Campbell Station, and much genealogical information.

The University of Tennessee Library purchased an Argus Film Reader. The films so far secured include a number of volumes of important scientific magazines; the Maryland *Gazette;* the *Railroad Advocate,* published in Tennessee; the *Journal* of Mrs. J. G. M. Ramsey, wife of the historian; some Tennessee Senate and House *Journals;* and the first volume of the Minutes of the Friends Meeting, Friendsville. The editor of the Sweetwater *News* deposited a file of that paper, almost complete, for the years, 1900-1939. From M. V. Koger the Library received an incomplete file of the Rogersville *Herald,* 1886-1896. A notable addition secured was a file of the London *Times,* 1884 to June, 1933. All county records copied by the WPA are received and 412 of these volumes are bound.

Announcement was made in Chattanooga late in the year of plans for a special collection on Journalism to be placed in the Chattanooga Public Library. The sponsor of the plan is Walter C. Johnson, secretary-manager of the Southern Newspaper Publishers Association. The plan calls for contributions to the collection from members of the Association, with circulating loan privileges. Mr. Johnson, who was for many years general manager of the Chattanooga News, offered as a nucleus of this collection a large portion of his personal library.

Of historical interest in newspapers a few items are listed: The Chattanooga *Times,* June 2, "Territory South of the Ohio," by Zella Armstrong; Aug. 25, "The Story of the Tennessee River and its Dams," by Theodore Parker, and "Evolution of a Community" [Chattanooga], by Robert S. Walker; The *Lookout,* Aug. 30 and Sept. 2, contained sketches of the valley and the Chicamauga Dam; The *Press-Chronicle* (Johnson City), Mar. 24, "The History of the Founding of Johnson City," by Samuel C. Williams; The Knoxville *Journal,* Nov. 17 and Dec. 1, "White's Fort" and "Tennessee's First Constitution," by Lucile Deaderick; Aug. 4, "Brave Tsali Lives in Spirit," by Don Whitehead; The Knoxville *News-Sentinel,* Oct. 6, "The Tragic History of Old Fort Loudoun," by Sarah Moore Trailor.

A floral guide to the Smokies was published in Knoxville, by J. L. Caton. *Wild Flowers of the Great Smokies* is illustrated with photographs made by the author.

Among the items relating to Tennessee history discussed in the six volume *Dictionary of American History,* edited by J. T. Adams and R. V. Coleman (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1940) are the following:

Alleghanies, Routes across; Avery's Trace; Blount Conspiracy; Carter's Valley Settlement; Chattanooga Campaign; Cherokee, The; Cherokee River; Cherokee Wars, The; Chicamauga, Battle of; Chicamauga; Chickasaw Bluffs; Chickasaw Treaty; Cumberland, Army of the; Cumberland Gap; Cumberland River; Cumberland Settlements; De Soto Expedition; Donelson, Fort, Capture of; Donelson's Line; Dumplin Creek, Treaty of; Franklin, The State of; *Genius of Universal Emancipation;* Great Smoky Mountains; Hard Labor, Treaty of; Harpes, The; Henderson Land Company; Henry, Fort, Capture of; Hermitage Plantation; Holston Treaty; Holston Valley Settlements; Hood's Tennessee Campaign; King's Mountain, Battle of; Knoxville, Seige of; Ku Klux Klan; Lochaber, Treaty of; Long Hunters; Long Island Flats, Battle of; Long Island of The Holston, Treaty of; Lookout Mountain, Battle on; Loudoun, Fort; Louisville and Nashville Railroad; Memphis, Tennessee; Memphis and Charleston Railroad; Missionary Ridge, Battle of; Murfreesboro, Battle of; Nashville; Nashville, Battle of; Nashville and Chattanooga Railroad; Nashville Convention, The; Natchez Trace; Needham-Arthur Expeditions; New Echota, Treaty of; Norris Dam; Old Hick-

ory; Parson Brownlow's Book; Pillow, Fort, "Massacre"; Powell's Valley; Prudhomme Bluffs; Rhea Letter; Scopes Trial, The; Seceded States, Representation of the, at Washington; Shawnee, The; Shiloh, Battle of; Southern Unionists during the Civil War; Southwest Point; Southwest Territory; Spanish Conspiracy; Spring Hill, Engagement at; Sycamore Shoals, The Treaty of; Tennessee, Army of (Confederate); Tennessee, Army of (Union); Tennessee, State of; Tennessee, The; Tennessee Bond Cases; Tennessee Centennial Exposition; Tennessee River; Tennessee Valley Authority; Transylvania Company, Tullahoma Campaign, The; Washington District; Watauga Settlement and Association; Western and Atlantic Railroad. Among the contributors are several members of the East Tennessee Historical Society.

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The Tennessee Historical Records Survey, with headquarters in Nashville, Tennessee, is under the direction of Madison Bratton, state supervisor.

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Laura E. Luttrell was formerly head of the McClung Collection, Lawson McGhee Library, Knoxville, Tennessee.

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS
of
THE EAST TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Formulated and adopted January 16, 1925
(With amendments to 1941 incorporated)

CONSTITUTION

Article I. Name

This organization shall be called the East Tennessee Historical Society.

Article II. Object

Its object shall be the promotion of interest in and preservation of material relating to the history of Tennessee and particularly of East Tennessee.

Article III. Membership

All persons interested in the history of the State of Tennessee are eligible to membership.

Article IV. Officers

Section 1.

The officers of this Society shall be a president; three vice-presidents: one to represent *upper East Tennessee,* one to represent the *Knoxville region* and one to represent *lower East Tennessee;* a secretary; and a treasurer. The election of officers shall take place at the December meeting of each year.

Section 2.

These six, together with one other member elected by the Society, and the ex-president immediatly preceding, and the managing editor, shall constitute the Executive Committee.

Section 3.

These officers shall hold office for one year, or until their successors are chosen.

Section 4.

On the nomination of the Executive Committee, the Society shall elect a managing editor, an editorial associate and a board of editors, which shall consist of six members of the Society who have distinguished themselves as students, writers, or patrons of Tennessee history. Two members of the board shall be elected at each annual December meeting for terms of three years. The board shall seek to encourage scholarly publications by the Society and shall determine the policy with reference to publications.

Article V. Executive Committee

The Executive Committee shall select the date and place for the meetings, shall prepare programs and take charge of the business of the Society. The Committee may call special meetings.

Article VI. Meetings

Section 1.

The society shall hold one regular meeting a month.

Section 2.

The president is required to call special meetings when requested in writing

to do so by five members of the Society. Notice of such meetings shall be given two days in advance.

Article VII. Voting

Each member of the Society shall have the privilege of voting after paying the annual dues.

Article VIII. Quorum

A Quorum shall consist of not less than twelve members.

Article IX. Finances

To meet the expenses of the Society, each member shall pay an annual fee.

Article X. Amendments

This Constitution may be amended by a majority of the members voting at each of three successive meetings.

BY-LAWS

Article I. Order of Business

The order of business shall be:

A. Roll call
B. Reading of Minutes
C. Treasurer's Report
D. Program
E. Unfinished business
F. Reports of committees
G. Communications
H. New business
I. Election of officers and editors

Article II. Committees

Besides the Executive Committee, there shall be the following committees:

Section a.

Committee on Nominations, a temporary committee, consisting of three members to be chosen as the Society may direct each year not later than the regular November meeting. The duty of the committee shall be to nominate officers for the ensuing year. This shall not preclude nominations from the floor.

Section b.

Committee on Historic Markers, a committee consisting of three members appointed by the President, whose duty it shall be to determine what historic spots should be marked and to make recommendations to the Society concerning the placing of markers.

Section c.

Committee on Tennessee Genealogy, consisting of three members, to be appointed by the President. The duty of this committee shall be to encourage and to assist where practicable in compiling Tennessee family records.

Article III. Dues

Each active member shall pay an annual fee of two dollars ($2.00).
Each sustaining member shall pay an annual fee of five dollars ($5.00).
Each life member shall pay fifty dollars ($50.00) in one payment.

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IN
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by

Stanley J. Folmsbee, University of Tennessee

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